THE

MONTHLY EPITOME

FOR MAY, 1804.

I. THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN FORCES, DURING THE WAR WHICH ESTABLISHED THE INDEPENDENCY OF HIS COUNTRY, AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: *compiled under the inſpection of the honourable* BUSHROD WASHINGTON, *from original papers bequeathed to him by his deceaſed Relative. To which is prefixed an Introduction, containing a compendious view of the Colonies planted by the Engliſh on the Continent of North America. By* JOHN MARSHALL, *Chief Juſtice of the United States, &c. &c. Quarto vol.* 1. *pages* 453. *with a portrait of Waſhington, a view of Mount Vernon, and two maps of the Northern and Southern Provinces of the United States, Phillips* 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

WE are deſirous of giving our readers an early and copious account of this ſuperb and intereſting work, the *Dedication* we tranſcribe

" DEDICATION.

" To the moſt noble William Marquis of Lanſdown.

" MY LORD,

" IN prefixing your Lordſhip's Name to an Engliſh edition of the Life of General Waſhington, I flatter myſelf that I ſhall not be conſidered, by the publick, as having violated that ſenſe of propriety by which all aſſociations of eminent and illuſtrious names ſhould be directed.

" Waſhington, after a long ſeries of the moſt glorious and patriotic ſervices to his country, had the felicity of ſeeing her liberty and independence placed beyond the reach of fortuitous events, and only waiting the return of wiſe and enlightened counſels in her adverſary, for their full recognition and peaceable enjoyment. For your Lordſhip was reſerved the happineſs of placing two great nations, formed to be durably connected by the bonds of reciprocal eſteem and mutual intereſt, in the ſituation of friends, ſecured, by equality, from their former cauſes of diſſention. Experience has abundantly proved the wiſdom of ſuch a liberal policy; and the benefits which have proceeded from the Peace which you gave to your ſuffering Country, cannot but have amply compenſated, in your mind, for all the temporary obloquy which attended that neceſſary meaſure.

" The great man whoſe life and actions are diſplayed in this work, not only rivalled the moſt ſucceſful commanders, in conducting to its deſired termination a war begun with very defective means; but obtained the much rarer praiſe of averting the civil ſtorms which threatened to diſunite thoſe whom danger had confederated, and of fixing upon the firm baſis of the general good, a new conſtitution, which had no other ſupport than publick opinion. This he effected by that ſpirit of prudence and moderation which is ſo eſſential to the management of diſcordant intereſts; and, eſpecially, by that inviolate integrity and pure patriotiſm, which gained him the entire confidence of his grateful countrymen. Certainly, no ſtatesman, either in ancient or modern times, ever

acquired more honourably, or exercised more faithfully, the power which his country put into his hands—or more nobly returned it into the source whence it sprung.

"That accurate acquaintance with political history, which has always distinguished your Lordship, must have left you nothing to learn respecting every publick transaction, civil and military, in which General Washington took a leading part. It may be presumed, however, that your Lordship will not be displeased with reviewing, in a clear and connected narrative, the eventful story of his actions, and with comparing them, in your own mind, with those of other great men, who have successively appeared on the stage of the world, and challenged the admiration of posterity. Of such characters, very few will probably be found, who can equally bear a close inspection without any diminution of their fame. Indeed, the minuteness of a biographical record, like the present, is necessary for conveying an adequate idea of the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and of the peculiar merit of his publick services. The more particularly the state of America, before and after the accomplishment of the revolution, is considered, the more clearly it will be seen, that just such a man as Washington, in temper, principle, abilities, and reputation, was essentially requisite for performing the great task to which he was destined. More ardour of constitution, more vivacity of imagination, might only have tempted him to deviate from that path, in which unshaken firmness, calm perseverance, and vigilent caution, were the true conductors. The passionate love of glory, how much soever excused as "the infirmity of noble minds," might have led him into hazardous enterprizes, and have finally terminated in the vulgar ambition of acquiring uncontrolled power, and dazzling title. He became truly great by indifference to greatness; and best provided for the perpetuity of an honourable fame, by regarding fame as subordinate to duty. What a lesson to those in high stations, who have hearts and understandings to receive it!

"The records of his private life will not afford less pleasure to those who love to contemplate virtue in its retreat, and to view the exertions of patriotism in the walks of humble utility. Your Lordship has obtained just applause for that liberal patronage of science and literature, which befits a nobleman in a country far advanced in civilization. Washington perceived that the encouragement of agriculture, and the economical arts, was the proper business of an opulent American landholder; and that the example of a simple mode of life, was the most useful object of imitation he could present to his neighbours and countrymen. Probably, for a long series of years, nothing will be so desireable to the Transatlantic Republic, as that its presidents and generals should be Cincinnati, returning to the plough, and keeping in due honour that state of mankind, which is always too soon exchanged for the polish and luxury of courts and capitals.

"Your Lordship will pardon whatever of impropriety there may be in addressing to you these preliminary observations, on a character which you must have contemplated under all the lights in which it is important to view it. But it is difficult to speak at all of a person, the object of our esteem and veneration, without making a sketch of his portrait; and if the idea of it here given shall correspond with that already formed by your Lordship, such a coincidence will be the best proof of its justness.

"In the hope that the work now offered to your Lordship's acceptance, will entitle itself to your approbation,

I remain with profound respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
And most humble Servant,
THE EDITOR.

LONDON,
May 10, 1804.

"We also add the well written Preface by the Author, which fully explains the work.

"PREFACE.

"A Desire to know intimately those illustrious personages who have performed a conspicuous part on the great theatre of the world, is, perhaps, implanted in every human bosom. We delight to follow them through the various critical and perilous situations in which they have been placed, to view them in the ex-

tremes of adverse and prosperous fortune, to trace their progress through all the difficulties they have surmounted, and to contemplate their whole conduct at a time when the power and the pomp of office having disappeared, it may be presented to us in the simple garb of truth.

"If among those exalted characters which are produced in every age, none can have a fairer claim to the attention and collection of mankind, than those under whose auspices great empires have been founded, or political institutions deserving to be permanent, established; a faithful representation of the various important events connected with the life of the favourite son of America, cannot be unworthy of the general regard: among his own countrymen it will unquestionably excite the deepest interest.

"As if the chosen instrument of Heaven selected for the purpose of effecting the great designs of Providence respecting this our western hemisphere, it was the peculiar lot of this distinguished man, at every epoch when the destinies of his country seemed dependant on the measures adopted, to be called by the united voice of his fellow-citizens to those high stations on which the success of those measures principally depended. It was his peculiar lot to be equally useful in obtaining the independence, and consolidating the civil institutions of his country. We perceive him at the head of her armies, during a most arduous and perilous war, on the events of which her national existence was staked, supporting with invincible fortitude the unequal conflict. That war being happily terminated, and the political revolutions of America requiring that he should once more relinquish his beloved retirement, we find him guiding her councils with the same firmness, wisdom, and virtue, which had, long and successfully, been displayed in the field. We behold him her Chief Magistrate, at a time when her happiness, her liberty, perhaps her preservation depended on so administering the affairs of the Union, that a government standing entirely on the public favour, which had with infinite difficulty been adopted, and against which the most inveterate prejudices had been excited, should conciliate publick opinion, and acquire a firmness and stability that would enable it to resist the rude shocks it was destined to sustain. It was too his peculiar fortune to afford the brightest examples of moderation and patriotism, by voluntarily divesting himself of the highest military and civil honours, when the public interests no longer demanded that he should retain them. We find him retiring from the head of a victorious army which adored him, as soon as the object for which arms had been taken up was accomplished; and withdrawing from the highest office an American citizen can hold, as soon as his influence, his character and his talents ceased to be necessary to the maintenance of that government which had been established under his auspices.

"He was, indeed, first in war,* first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

"A faithful detail of the transactions of a person so prominently distinguished, will be looked for with avidity, and the author laments his inability to present to the public a work which may gratify the expectations that have been raised. In addition to that just diffidence of himself, which he very sincerely feels, two causes beyond his controul combine to excite this apprehension.

"Accustomed to look in the page of history for incidents in themselves of great magnitude; to find immense exertions attended with inconsiderable effects; and vast means employed in producing unimportant ends, we are in the habit of bestowing on the recital of military actions, a degree of consideration proportioned to the numbers engaged in them. When the struggle has terminated, and the agitations felt during its suspence have subsided, it is difficult to attach to enterprizes in which small numbers have been concerned, that admiration which is often merited by the talents displayed in their execution, or that interest which belongs to the consequences that have arisen from them.

"The long and distressing contest between Great Britain and these States did not abound in those great battles

* The expressions of a resolution prepared by General Lee, and passed in the house of representatives of the United States on their being informed of the death of General Washington.

which are so frequent in the wars of Europe. Those who expect a continued succession of victories and defeats; who can only feel engaged in the movements of vast armies, and who believe that a hero must be prepetually in action, will be disappointed in almost every page of the following history. Seldom was the American Chief in a condition to indulge his native courage in those brilliant achievements to which he was stimulated by his own feelings, and a detail of which interests, enraptures, and astonishes the reader. Had he not often checked his natural disposition, had he not tempered his ardour with caution, the war he conducted would probably have been of short duration, and the United States would still have been colonies. At the head of troops most of whom were perpetually raw, because they were perpetually changing; who were neither well fed, paid, clothed, nor armed; and who were generally inferior, even in numbers, to the enemy; he derives no small title to glory from the consideration that he never despaired of the public safety, that he was able at all times to preserve the appearance of an army, and that, in the most desperate situation of American affairs, he did not, for an instant, cease to be formidable. To estimate rightly his worth, we must contemplate his difficulties. We must examine the means placed in his hands, and the use he made of those means. To preserve an army when conquest was impossible, to avoid defeat and ruin when victory was unattainable, to keep his forces embodied, and suppress the discontents of his soldiers, exasperated by a long course of the most cruel privations, to seize with unerring discrimination the critical moment when vigorous offensive operations might be advantageously carried on, are actions not less valuable in themselves, nor do they require less capacity in the Chief who performs them, than a continued succession of battles. But they spread less splendor over the page which recounts them, and excite weaker emotions in the bosom of the reader.

"There is also another source from which some degree of disappointment has been anticipated. It is the impossibility of giving to the public, in the first part of this work, many facts not already in their possession.

"The American war was a subject of too much importance to have remained thus long unnoticed by the literary world. Almost every event worthy of attention, which occurred during its progress, has been gleaned up and detailed. Not only the public, but much of the private correspondence of the Commander in Chief, has been inspected, and permission given to extract from it whatever might properly be communicated. In the military part of this history, therefore, the author can promise not much that is new. He can only engage for the correctness with which facts are stated, and for the diligence with which his researches have been made.

"The letters to and from the Commander in Chief during the war were very numerous, and have been carefully preserved. The whole of this immensely voluminous correspondence has, with infinite labour, been examined; and the work now offered to the public is principally compiled from it. The facts which occurred on the continent are generally supported by these letters, and it has therefore been deemed unnecessary to multiply references to them. But there are many facts so connected with those events in which the General performed a principal part, that they ought not to be omitted, and respecting which his correspondence cannot be expected to furnish satisfactory information. Such facts have been taken from the histories of the day, and the authority relied on for the establishment of their verity has been cited. Various publications have for this purpose, been occasionally resorted to, and are quoted for all those facts which are detailed in part on their authority. Their very language has sometimes been employed without distinguishing the passages, especially when intermingled with others, by marks of quotation; but, in such instances, the book is cited in the margin: and the author persuades himself that this public declaration will rescue him from the imputation of receiving aids he is unwilling to acknowledge, or of wishing, by a concealed plagiarism, to usher to the world as his own, the labours of others.

"In selecting the materials for the succeeding volumes, it was deemed proper to present to the public as much as possible of General Washing-

ton himself. Prominent as he must be in any history of the American war, there appeared to be a peculiar fitness in rendering him still more so in one which professes to give a particular account of his own life. His private opinions therefore, his various plans, even those which were never carried into execution, his individual exertions to prevent and correct the multiplied errors committed by inexperience, are given in more minute detail; and more copious extracts from his letters are taken than would comport with the plan of a more general work. Many events too are unnoticed, which in such a composition, would be worthy of being introduced, and much useful information has not been sought for, which a professed history of America ought to comprise. Yet the history of General Washington, during his military command and civil administration, is so much that of his country, that the work appeared to the author to be most sensibly incomplete and unsatisfactory, while unaccompanied by such a narrative of the principal events preceding our revolutionary war, as would make the reader acquainted with the genius, character, and resources of the people about to engage in that memorial contest. This appeared the more necessary, as that period of our history is but little known to ourselves. Several writers have detailed very minutely the affairs of a particular colony, but the *desideratum* is a composition which shall present, in one connected view, the transactions of all those colonies which now form the United States.

"The materials for the complete execution of such a work are perhaps not to be found in America; and, if they do exist, their collection would require a length of time, and a labour of research, which neither the impatience of the public, nor the situation of the author, would enable him to bestow on the subject. Yet he thought it more eligible to digest, into one volume the most material of those facts, which are now scattered through several books, than to commence his history abruptly with the war between Great Britain and her colonies.

"The difficulties attending even such an undertaking as this, were soon perceived to be greater than had been expected. In several of the English colonies, either no accounts whatever, or such vague accounts of their transactions have been given, that long intervals of time pass away without furnishing a single document relative to their affairs. In others, very circumstantial details of their original settlements have been published, but the relation stops at an early period. In New England alone has the history of any colony been continued to the war of our independence. Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchison, and Mr. Minor, have faithfully transmitted to those who succeed them, the events which occurred in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Mr. Trumbull is engaged in a similar undertaking for Connecticut, but has not yet advanced far in its execution. In New York, Mr Smith has made a valuable commencement; and, in Virginia, Mr. Stith and Mr. Beverly have detailed, at great length the hardships of the original settlers; but, in the other colonies, until we reach South Carolina and Georgia, scarcely any attempt has been made at a history of any sort. To the reign of William and Mary, Mr. Chalmer has furnished almost all the facts which the historian of the United States would require. It is much to be regretted, that he has not prosecuted his very valuable work according to his original design. So far as it has been executed, it contains internal evidence of the means he possesses for its completion; means unattainable by any inhabitant of the United Sates. The author has made free use of the materials he has furnished, as well as of those collected by Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Minot, Mr. Smith, and the historian of South Carolina and Georgia. He has also made large extracts from the two chapters written by Mr. Robertson, and published since his decease. Had that gentleman lived to finish the work he began, an elegant and valuable history of our country would have been in possession of the public, and the author of the following sheets would have deemed it unnecessary to have introduced the life of General Washington with any narration of events preceding the time when that great man appeared on the theatre of action. But we have received from Mr. Robertson only an account of the settlement of the two eldest colonies, and therefore the necessity of pre-

fixing to this work some essay, though a crude one, towards a general history of the English settlements on this continent still remained.

"If Mr. Chalmer, or any other person, shall complete the publication of that collection of facts which he has so successfully commenced, and intelligent individuals of other states could be induced to follow the example set them by Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Minot, and Mr. Trumbull, a fund of information would then be collected, from which a correct and valuable history of the now United States might readily be compiled. Till one or both of these events occur, such a history is not to be expected. The author is by no means insensible of the insufficiency of that which is now presented to the public; but the Life of General Washington required some previous general knowledge of American affairs, and he thought it more advisable to accompany that work with even the imperfect sketch of our history which he has been enabled to draw, than to give it publicity, unconnected with any narrative whatever of preceding events.

"In executing the determination produced by this opinion, he soon perceived, that though human nature is always the same, and consequently man will, in every situation, furnish useful lessons to the discerning politician, yet few would be willing to employ much time in searching for them through the minute details of the sufferings of an infant people, spreading themselves through a wilderness pre-occupied only by savages and wild beasts. These details can interest themselves alone, and only the desire of knowing the situation of our own country, in every stage of its existence, can stamp a value on the page which contains them. He has, therefore, omitted entirely many transactions deemed of great moment while passing, and yet he is more apprehensive of having overcharged his narrative with facts not of sufficient importance to be preserved, than of having contracted it too much.

"For any inattention to composition an apology ought never to be necessary. A work of any importance ought never to be submitted to the public till it has been sufficiently revised and corrected. Yet the first part of the Life of General Washington goes into the world under circumstances which might bespeak, from candour, less severity of criticism than it will probably experience. The papers from which it has been compiled have been already stated to be immensely voluminous, and the public was already looking for the work before the writer was fixed on, and the documents from which it was to be composed placed in his hands. The impatience since discovered, by many of the subscribers, has carried the following sheets to the press much more precipitately than the judgment of the author would have permitted him to part with them, and he cannot flatter himself that they are free from many defects which, on a reperusal, will attract even his own observation."

The volume is made up of *thirteen* chapters, in which the History of America is traced, step by step, from its first discovery down to the treaty of peace in 1763. A few short extracts only will be given by way of specimen:

"The discovery of America by Columbus, gave a new impulse, and in some degree a new direction, to that bold spirit of adventure which characterized the hardy age in which he lived.

"The accounts given by that daring and skilful navigator of the countries he had visited, and the still more flattering reports respecting them which were circulated by the companions of his voyage; while they made their deepest impression on Spain, inspired very generally throughout Europe the desire of sharing with that nation, the glory, the wealth, and the dominion, to be acquired in the new world.

"To accident the English historians attribute the failure of their sovereign to engage originally in his service this distinguished man. While Christopher Columbus proceeded to solicit, in person, at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, those aids which were indispensably necessary to the prosecution of the grand schemes he had projected, his brother Bartholomew was dispatched to Henry VII. of England, for the purpose of engaging that cautious but sagacious monarch to protect his enterprize.

"On his passage, Bartholomew was unfortunately captured by pirates,

After a long detention, he at length reached England, where his propoſitions were ſo favourably received by the ſovereign of that nation, as to have excited the opinion, that he would probably have acquired to himſelf and his country the honour and advantage of having firſt patronized this ever memorable voyage, had not the delays experienced by Bartholomew ſuſpended the deciſion of Henry, until America was diſcovered under the auſpices of Spain.

"The impreſſion, however, which he had received, prepared him in ſome meaſure for the important diſcoveries which were made, and inclined him to countenance the propoſitions which, ſoon after the return of Columbus, were made by his own ſubjects for engaging in adventures ſimilar to that which had already been ſo ſucceſsful.

"But England whoſe ships now cover every ocean, and whoſe fleets triumph in every ſea, did not then furniſh a ſingle individual well enough acquainted with navigation, to be trusted with the direction of ſuch an expedition. The chief command of the armament deſtined to explore theſe unknown regions was given to Giovanni Gaboto (John Cabot) a Venetian adventurer, who had ſettled in Briſtol. To him and to his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, a commiſſion was iſſued on the 5th of March, leſs than two years after the return of Columbus from America, empowering them or either of them, and their or each of their heirs and deputies, to ſail under the banner of England, towards the Eaſt, North, or Weſt, in order to diſcover countries then unknown to all Chriſtian people. The terms of this commiſſion very ſtrongly marked the genius and character of the monarch who gave it. It empowered the Cabots to take poſſeſſion of the countries they ſhould diſcover in the name of the King of England, and to carry on an excluſive trade with the inhabitants; but the diſcoveries were to be made at their own expence, and their commerce was charged with a fifth part of the clear profit on every voyage, payable to the crown.

"The expedition contemplated at the date of this commiſſion, appears not then to have been made; but in May, Cabot with his ſecond ſon Sebaſtian, embarked at Briſtol, on board a ship furniſhed by the King, which was accompanied by four barks fitted out by merchants of that city.

"The opinion of Columbus, that a ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt Indies was to be opened by holding a weſtern courſe, and that the iſlands he had diſcovered were contiguous to the great continent of India, was then generally received. Cabot therefore, who was in queſt, not ſo much of eſtabliſhments as of the rich commerce of the Eaſt, deemed it probable that by ſteering to the northweſt he might reach India by a ſhorter courſe than that which Columbus had taken. After ſailing for ſome weeks due weſt, he diſcovered a large iſland which was called by him *Prima Viſta*, and by his ſailors, *Newfoundland*; and in a few days he deſcried a ſmaller iſle, to which he gave the name of St. John. Continuing his courſe weſtward, he ſoon reached the continent of North America, and ſailed along it from the fifty-ſixth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, from the coaſt of Labrador to that of Virginia. He was not a little chagrined at being unable further to proſecute his commercial views, and to diſcover ſome inlet which might open a paſſage to the weſt. It does not appear that he landed any where during this extenſive run; and he returned to England without attempting either ſettlement or conqueſt.

"Thus, according to the Engliſh hiſtorians, was firſt diſcovered, that immenſe continent which ſtretches from the gulph of Mexico to the north pole; and as far back as to this diſcovery the Engliſh traced their title to the country they afterwards acquired, partly by ſettlement and partly by arms."

The *firſt Engliſh colony* is thus deſcribed:

"A plan for making permanent ſettlements in thoſe parts of America which, heretofore, the Engliſh had only viſited, was now projected and patronized by perſons of rank and influence. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonſhire, who had early rendered himſelf conſpicuous by his military ſervices both in France and Ireland, and afterwards by a treatiſe concerning the north-weſt paſſage, in which great ingenuity and learning were mingled, according to Mr. Ro-

binſon, with the enthuſiaſm, the credulity, and ſanguine expectation which incite men to new and hazardous undertakings, was deemed a proper perſon to be employed in eſtabliſhing the colony now contemplated; and on the 11th of June, he obtained letters patent from the Queen, veſting in him ſuch powers as were thought ſufficient for the purpoſe.

"This is the firſt charter to a colony granted by the crown of England. Its articles merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age with reſpect to the nature of ſuch ſettlements.

"Elizabeth authoriſes Sir Gilbert and his heirs and aſſigns to diſcover and take poſſeſſion of ſuch remote heathen and barbarous lands, as were not actually poſſeſſed by any chriſtian prince, or people. She veſts in him, his heirs and aſſigns, for ever, the lands ſo to be diſcovered, and poſſeſſed with the rights, royalties, and juriſdiction, as well marine as other, within the ſaid lands and countries; and the ſeas thereunto adjoining; with full power to diſpoſe thereof to her majeſty's ſubjects, in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the laws of England, as nearly as conveniently might be; paying to the queen her heirs and ſucceſſors, for all ſervices, duties, and demands whatever, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and ſilver, which ſhould at any time there be obtained; holding all the ſaid lands of her majeſty, her heirs, and ſucceſſors, by homage, and by payment of the fifth part before reſerved. She grants him licence to expel all perſons who, without his ſpecial permiſſion, ſhould attempt to inhabit the ſaid countries, or within two hundred leagues of the place where he, his heirs, or aſſigns, ſhould within ſix years enſuing, make their ſettlement; and ſhe empowers him to capture by all means whatever, all perſons with their veſſels and goods, who ſhould be found trading within the limits aforeſaid, without his licence. She declares that the countries ſo to be diſcovered and poſſeſſed, ſhould thenceforward be under the allegiance and protection of the crown of England, and the perſons to inhabit them, ſhould enjoy the privileges of free denizens or natives of England. She further grants to Sir Humphrey, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, full power and authority to correct, puniſh, pardon, govern, and rule, as well in cauſes capital or criminal as civil, all ſuch her ſubjects or others as ſhould inhabit the ſaid countries; with power to conſtitute ſuch ſtatutes, laws, and ordinances, as ſhould by him his heirs or aſſigns be deviſed or eſtabliſhed, for the better government of the people: "Provided always that they ſhould be, as near as conveniently might, agreeable to the laws and policy of England; and provided alſo, that they be not againſt the true chriſtian faith, profeſſed in the church of England, nor any way tend to withdraw the ſubjects or people of thoſe lands or places, from the allegiance of the queen, her heirs, or ſucceſſors." Furniſhed with theſe ample powers, Gilbert and the aſſociates of his voyage embarked for America. But his ſucceſs by no means equalled his expectations. The variety of difficulties inſeparable from the ſettlement of a diſtant, unexplored country, inhabited only by ſavages; the ſcanty and inadequate ſupplies for a colony, which could be furniſhed by the funds of a private man; the misfortune of having approached the continent too far towards the north, where the cold barren coaſt of Cape Breton, was rather calculated to repel than invite a ſettlement; have been aſſigned as the probable cauſes of his failure.

"Two expeditions, conducted by this gentleman, ended diſaſtrouſly. In the laſt he himſelf periſhed, having done nothing further in the execution of his patent, than taking poſſeſſion of the iſland of Newfoundland, in the name of Elizabeth, and in the preſence of ſeveral fiſhermen and merchants from different nations in Europe, who were convened to attend the ſolemnity.

"Sir Walter Raleigh, ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed by his genius, his courage, and his unmerited fate, had been deeply intereſted in the adventures in which his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert waſted his fortune, and was not deterred by their ill ſucceſs, or the difficulties attending ſuch an enterprize, from proſecuting with vigour, a plan ſo well calculated to captivate his bold and romantic temper.

"On the 26th of March, he obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent ſimilar to that which had been granted

to Gilbert, and on the 27th of April he dispatched two small vessels under the command of Captains Amidas and Barlow, for the purpose of visiting the countries he intended to settle, and of acquiring some previous knowledge of those circumstances which might be essential to the welfare of the colony he was about to plant. To avoid the error of Gilbert in holding too far North, they took the route by the Canaries and the West-India islands, and approached the North American continent towards the Gulph of Florida. On the 2d of July, they touched at an island situate on the inlet into Pamplicoe Sound,* about fifteen miles in length and six in breadth, which they called Wokocon (probably Ocakoke), where they were surprised and delighted with the immense number of grapes, the clusters of which covered alike the smallest shrubs, and the tallest trees. From thence they proceeded to Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. At both places they carried on a profitable traffic with the natives, who manifested neither fear, nor a disposition towards acts of hostility, received them with great hospitality, and displayed much willingness to exchange their rude productions for the commodities of the English, especially their iron and other useful metals.

"Having spent some weeks in this traffic, and collected from the Indians some confused accounts respecting the neighbouring continent, they took with them two of the natives, who willingly accompanied them, and embarked for England, where they arrived the 15th of September. The splendid descriptions which they gave of the soil, the climate and the productions of the country they had visited, so pleased Elizabeth, that, flattered with the idea of possessing a territory abounding with such advantages, she bestowed on it the name of Virginia, as a memorial that it had been discovered during the reign of a virgin Queen.

"Their report encouraged Raleigh to hasten his preparations for taking possession of such an inviting property. Early in the following spring he fitted out seven small ships, well laden with arms, ammunition, provisions, and passengers for a settlement. The command of this squadron was given to Sir Richard Greenville, his relation, who was interested with him in the patent obtained from Elizabeth, and who, even in that gallant age, was conspicuous for his courage. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April. Having taken the southern route, and wasted some time in cruising against the Spaniards, he did not reach the coast of North America until the close of the month of June. He touched at both the islands where Amidas and Barlow had landed, made some excursions into different parts of the continent around, Pamplicoe and Albemarle Sounds, but unfortunately did not advance so far towards the North, as to discover the bay of Chesapeake.

"He established a colony, consisting of one hundred and eight persons, in the island of Roanoke, an incommodious station without any safe harbour. Having committed the government of it to Mr. Ralph Lane, he on the 25th of August set sail for England.

"The chief as well as most beneficial employment of the colonists, next to providing the means of future subsistence, should have been to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the adjacent country. To this they were not entirely inattentive, and their enquiries were by no means unsuccessful. But the first and darling pursuit of all Europeans in America was gold. To this their researches were, principally, directed; and to its attainment were applied the utmost energies of which they were capable. The English flattered themselves that the country they had discovered could not be destitute of those mines of precious metals with which Spanish America abounded. The Indians soon discerned the object for which they searched with so much avidity, and amused them with tales of rich mines in countries they had not yet explored. Deceived by this misinformation, they encountered incredible hardships, and misspent, in search of what happily did not exist, that time which ought to have been employed in providing the means for their future subsistence. Mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the natives, which had been

* In the state of North Carolina.

easily generated, began to show themselves in open hostility; and, the provisions brought from England being exhausted, they were under the necessity of resorting for food to the precarious supplies afforded by the rivers and woods. In this state of distress they were, on the 1st of June, found by Sir Francis Drake, who was then returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. He agreed to supply them with about a hundred men, four months provision, and a small vessel; but before she could be placed in a state of security, this scheme was defeated by a sudden and violent storm, which forced out to sea, among many other ships, that which had on board the men and provisions destined for the colony. Discouraged by this misfortune, and worn out with fatigue and famine, they unanimously determined to abandon the country; and at their own request were taken on board the fleet, which on the 19th of June sailed for England.

"Thus terminated the first English colony planted in America. The only acquisition made by this expensive experiment was a better knowledge of the country and its inhabitants.

Hugh Peters and *Henry Vane* are thus delineated:

"Two persons, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in English annals, arrived this year in Boston. One was Hugh Peters, the coadjutor and chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other Mr. Henry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, who was at that time a privy councellor of great credit with the king. So forcibly was the influence of the political, and perhaps religious opinions then maintained by the puritans on the mind of this young gentleman, that he appeared ready to sacrifice, for their gratification, all the enjoyments which awaited him, and all his high expectations in his native land. His mortified exterior, his grave and solemn deportment, although not more than twenty-five years of age, his reputation for piety and wisdom, his strong professions of attachment to liberty, and to the public interest, added to his attention to some of the leading members in the church, won rapidly the affections of the people, and the year after his arrival, he was, with general approbation, chosen their governor. His administration commenced with more external pomp than had been usual, or would seem to be congenial with the plain and simple manners of the people he governed. When going to court, or church, he was always preceded by two sergeants, wo walked with their halberts; yet his popularity sustained no diminution, until the part he took in the religious controversies of the country detached from him many of its most judicious and influential inhabitants.

"Independent of the meetings for public worship on every Sunday; of the stated lecture in Boston on every Thursday; and of occasional lectures in other towns; there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of deep enthusiasm, and of considerable eloquence, who had been much flattered by the attentions of the governor, and of Mr. Cotton, one of the most influential of the clergy, and whose husband was among the most respected men in the country, dissatisfied with the exclusion of her sex from the private meetings of the brethren, instituted a meeting of the sisters also, in which she repeated the sermons of the preceding Sunday, accompanied with such remarks and expositions as she deemed pertinent. These meetings were attended by a large number of the most respectable of her sex; her lectures were much spoken of, and, for a time, very generally approved. At length she drew a marked distinction between the ministers and members of churches through the country. A small number she designated as being under a covenant of grace; the others as being under a covenant of works. Contending for the necessity of the former, she maintained that sanctity of life is no evidence of justification, or of favour with God; and that the Holy Ghost dwells personally in such as are justified. The whole colony was divided into two parties, equally positive on these abstruse points, whose resentments against each other threatened the most serious calamities. Mr. Vane espoused, with zeal, the wildest doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Cotton decidedly favoured them. The lieutenant governor, Mr. Winthrop, and the majority of the churches,

were of the opposite party. Many conferences were held; days of fasting and humiliation were appointed; a general synod was called; and, after the most violent dissensions, Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and she herself banished. Many of her disciples followed her. Vane, in disgust, quitted America unlamented, even by those who had lately so much admired him. He was considered by those sober, practical people, as being too visionary, and is said to have been too deep an enthusiast, even for the enthusiasts of that day in Massachussets."

The *founding of Pennsylvania* is interesting, as being illustrative of the character of Penn:

"While holding an interest in Jersey, William Penn acquired a tolerably accurate knowledge of the country west of the river Delaware; and, dissatisfied with his numerous partners, he formed the design of acquiring to himself a separate estate. On his petition, a charter was issued, in 1681, in which Charles granted to him, in absolute property, by the title of Pennsylvania, that tract of country bounded on the east by the river Delaware, extending westward five degrees of longitude, stretching to the north from twelve miles northward of Newcastle to the forty-third degree of latitude, and limited on the south by a circle of twelve miles, drawn round Newcastle to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude.

"In this charter the acts of navigation were particularly recognized: a local legislature was created, and provision made, that a duplicate of their laws should be transmitted, within five years, to the King in council—any of which that were found repugnant to those of England, or inconsistent with the authority of the crown, might be declared void in six months. This charter conveyed nearly the same powers and privileges with that of Maryland, but recognizes the right of parliament to tax the colony.

"Penn soon commenced the settlement of Pennsylvania, and immediately asserted a claim to a part of the territory which had been considered by Lord Baltimore as within the bounds of Maryland. This produced a controversy, between the two parties, productive of considerable inconvenience and irritation to both.

"In April, 1682, he published a frame of government for Pennsylvania*. Its chief intention was declared

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"* This frame of government is prefaced by a curious political disquisition; an extract from which, it is presumed, will not be unacceptable. "For particular forms and modes, says this uncommon legislator, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are—

"First, That the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. It is true, they seem to agree to the end, to wit, happiness; but, in the means they differ as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

"Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies, have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.

"Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject; but I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three. Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

"But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great or good. Witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as go-

to be "for the support of power, in reverence with the people; and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience; and the magistrates honourable for their just administration: for liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery." To carry this intention into effect, it was ordained, that the assembly should consist, first, of the whole body of freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never of more than five hundred persons. A provincial council was established, consisting of seventy-two members, to be chosen by the freemen; a third of whom annually went out of office, and were replaced by others chosen in the same manner. After the expiration of the first seven years, an interval of one year was required, before any person going out of the council could be re-elected. The governor, possessed of three votes, presided in this council, which was invested with the executive power, and with an authority to prepare bills to be laid before the assembly, which bills were to be published and affixed in the most noted places thirty days before the meeting of the legislature.

This frame of government, after many fruitless attempts to amend it, was at length laid aside as inapplicable to the condition of the colony, and a more simple form, resembling in its principal features, those established in the other provinces, was adopted, which remained until the proprietary government itself was dissolved.

In August, 1682, Penn, after long solicitation, obtained from the Duke of York, a conveyance of the town of Newcastle, with the territory twelve miles around it, and that tract of land extending from thence southward, on the Delaware, to Cape Henlopen.

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vernments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too: wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

"I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them; but let them consider, that, though good laws do well, good men do better: for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them, and the people are generally wise and good; but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz. men of wisdom and virtue, qualities, that, because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But, next to the power of necessity (which is a solicitor that will take no denial) this induced me to a compliance, that we have, (with reverence to God and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for, liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness, is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but, where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: thus, where both meet, the government is like to endure."

Soon after this, he set out for America, accompanied by about ten thousand emigrants, and, in the October following, landed on the banks of the Delaware, where, in addition to the colonists sent out by himself, he found settlements, consisting of about three thousand persons, composed of Swedes, Dutch, Finlanders, and English.

He cultivated with care the good-will of the natives, and purchased from them, at a satisfactory price, such lands as were necessary for the present use of the colony. At this time, the foundation of Philadelphia was laid, which, we are assured, contained, within twelve months from its commencement, nearly one hundred houses. An assembly was called, which, instead of being composed of all the freemen, according to the frame of government, was, at the request of the people themselves. Many wise and salutary laws were enacted, and among others, one annexing the territories (for so was the late purchase from the Duke of York denominated) to the province, and extending to the former all the privileges of the latter. Universal freedom in religion was established, and every foreigner, who promised allegiance to the King, and obedience to the proprietary, was declared a freeman.

Extremely anxious to extend his limits to the Chesapeake, Penn, soon after his arrival, met Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, for the purpose of adjusting their boundaries. The patent of that nobleman call for the fortieth degree of north latitude, and he proposed to determine, by actual observation, where that degree intersected the Delaware. Penn, on the other hand, insisted on finding the fortieth degree, by mensuration from the Capes of Virginia, the true situation of which had been already ascertained; and, each adhering firmly to his own proposition, no agreement could be concluded between them. The contest was referred to the committee of plantations, who, after the crown had descended on James, decided that the peninsula between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be divided into two equal parts, by a line drawn from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree, and adjudged that the land lying from that line towards the Delaware should belong to his Majesty, and the other moiety to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was ordered to be immediately executed.

Pennsylvania was slow in acknowledging the Prince and Princess of Orange. The government continued to be administered in the name of James for some time after the abdication of the crown by that monarch was known. At length, however, William and Mary were proclaimed; and Penn had the address to obviate the unfavourable impression made on them, by this delay in recognizing their authority."

The *Conquest of Quebec* shall close our selections.

"Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and on the west of the St. Charles, which latter river empties in to the former immediately below the town. Its fortifications are strong, and the city elegant and extensive. It consists of an upper and a lower town; the lower is built on the strand which stretches along the base of the lofty rock on which the upper is situated. This rock continues with a bold and steep front far to the westward, parallel to and near the river St. Lawrence. On this side, therefore, the city might well be deemed inaccessible. On the other it was protected by the river St. Charles, in which were several armed vessels and floating batteries, deriving additional security from a strong boom drawn across its mouth. The channel of this river is rough and broken, and its borders intersected with ravines. On its left or eastern bank was encamped a French army strongly entrenched, and amounting, according to all the English accounts, to ten thousand men*. The encampment extended from the St. Charles eastward to the river Montmorency; and its rear was covered by an almost im-

* These accounts must be exaggerated. An account of the French force engaged on the plains of Abraham, published with the letter of General Townshend, makes the amount of those who fought on that day three thousand five hundred men, and one thousand five hundred men are represented to have been previously detached under Bougainville.

penetrable wood. To render this army ſtill more formidable, it was commanded by a general, who, in the courſe of the preſent war, had already given ſignal proofs of active courage and conſummate prudence. The ſame Marquis de Montcalm, who, when ſtrong enough to act offenſively, had ſo rapidly carried Oſwego and Fort William-Henry; and who, when reduced to the defenſive, had driven Abercrombie with ſo much ſlaughter from the walls of Tyconderoga, was now at the head of the army which covered Quebec, and was an antagoniſt in all reſpects worthy of Wolfe.

"Although perceiving in their full extent the difficulties with which he was environed, the Britiſh general poſſeſſed a mind too ardent, and too replete with military enthuſiaſm, to yield to them. Unpromiſing as were his proſpects, he did not heſitate reſpecting the part it became him to take. He could not ſubmit to the diſgrace of relinquiſhing an enterpriſe intruſted to him, while any human means for accompliſhing his object remained uneſſayed.

"He took poſſeſſion of Point Levi, on the ſouthern ſide of the St. Lawrence, where he erected ſeveral heavy batteries, which were opened on the town. Theſe did great execution among the houſes, many of which were ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes, but made no conſiderable impreſſion on the fortifications. The works were too ſtrong, and at too great a diſtance from point Levi, to be eſſentially affected by a cannonade from thence.

"Nor could his ſhips be employed in this ſervice. The elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond the reach of the fleet; and the river was ſo commanded by the batteries on ſhore, as to render a ſtation in it near the town entirely ineligible.

"The Engliſh general was ſenſible of the impracticability of reducing the place, unleſs he ſhould be enabled to erect his batteries on the north ſide of St. Lawrence; to effect which he determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to bring Montcalm to a deciſive engagement.

"After ſeveral unavailing attempts, by the uſe of every military manœuvre his mind could ſuggeſt, to draw that experienced and cautious officer from the ſtrong and advantageous poſt he occupied, Wolfe reſolved to paſs the Montmorency, and to attack him in his entrenchments. Should even this hardy enterpriſe prove ſucceſsful, the river St. Charles would ſtill prevent an obſtacle to his views not eaſily to be ſurmounted: but, to uſe his own heroic language, he was aware that "a victorious army finds no difficulties."

"In conſequence of this reſolution, thirteen companies of Engliſh grenadiers, and part of the ſecond battalion of royal Americans, were ordered to be landed near the mouth of the Montmorency, under cover of the cannon of the ſhips of war; while two diviſions, under Generals Townſhend and Murray, prepared to croſs that river higher up. The original plan was, to attack, firſt, a detached redoubt cloſe to the water's edge, apparently unprotected by the fire from the intrenchments, in the hope that Montcalm might be induced to ſupport this work, in which caſe it would be in the power of Wolfe to bring on the general engagement he ſo much deſired. Should the French general ſubmit to the loſs of the redoubt, without any effort to preſerve it, he might from thence examine with coolneſs the ſituation of the enemy; throw his army over the Montmorency; and regulate, by circumſtances, his future operations.

"On the approach of the Britiſh troops the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe obſerving ſome confuſion in the French camp changed his original purpoſe, and determined to avail himſelf of the ſuppoſed impreſſion of the moment, and not to defer the meditated attack. With this view he directed the grenadiers and Royal Americans to form on the beach; where they were to wait until the whole army ſhould be formed, and they ſhould be properly ſuſtained. Orders were at the ſame time diſpatched to Townſhend and Murray to have their diviſions in readineſs for fording the river.

"Diſregarding the orders which had been given, the grenadiers and royal Americans ruſhed forward with impetuous and irregular valour on the intrenchments of the enemy; where they were received with ſo ſteady and well ſupported a fire, that they were ſoon thrown into confuſion, and ſuf-

fered very ſeverely in their retreat. The General advancing in perſon with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army: but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted, and the Engliſh commander was compelled to give orders for repaſſing the river, and returning to the Iſland of Orleans; which was effected, not without conſiderable loſs.

"Rendered ſenſible by this diſaſter of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the ſide of the Montmorency, while Montcalm choſe to retain the ſtrong poſt he at preſent occupied, the whole attention of Wolfe was once more turned to the St. Lawrence.

"A plan was formed, in concert with the admiral, for the purpoſe of deſtroying the French ſhips, and diſtracting the enemy by deſcents on the bank; and twelve hundred men, under the command of General Murray, were embarked in tranſports for its execution. The bank of the river where practicable was not undefended. He made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern ſhore without ſucceſs. In the third he was more fortunate. By a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud he burnt a valuable magazine filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and proviſions; but the main object of the expedition, which was the deſtruction of the French ſhips in the river, totally miſcarried. They were ſecured in ſuch a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. Murray was, therefore, recalled by the commander in chief. He returned diſappointed; but brought with him the intelligence that Niagara was taken; that Tyconderoga and Crown-Point had been abandoned; and that General Amherſt was making preparations to attack the Iſle aux Noix.

This intelligence was joyfully received, but it promiſed no immediate aſſiſtance; and the ſeaſon for action was rapidly waſting away. Nor was it eaſy for Wolfe to avoid contraſting the ſucceſs attending Britiſh arms under other auſpices, with the ill fortune hitherto experienced by himſelf. His mind, alike lofty and ſuſceptible, was deeply impreſſed by the diſaſter at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his ſpirits preying on his delicate frame ſenſibly affected his health. He was obſerved frequently to ſigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, "he declared to his intimate friends his reſolution not to ſurvive the diſgrace he imagined would attend the failure of his enterpriſe." His diſpatches, addreſſed about this time to Mr. Pitt, evince his perfect ſenſe of the almoſt deſperate ſituation of his affairs, and ſeemed intended to prepare the nation for the ill ſucceſs with which he was threatened. "We have," ſaid he, "almoſt the whole force of Canada to oppoſe. In ſuch a choice of difficulties I own myſelf at a loſs how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the moſt vigourous meaſures; but the courage of a handful of brave men ſhould be exerciſed only where there is hope of a favourable event." "The whole letter," ſays Mr. Belſham, "exhibits a picture of gloomy grandeur, of a mind revolving and meditating deſigns, of the temerity of which it is perfectly conſcious." Nor is the delicacy it manifeſts leſs worthy of recollection than its magnanimity. Severely as he muſt have been diſappointed at the failure on the part of General Amherſt to execute his part of the plan of co-operation concerted between the two armies, a failure to which all his own cruel embarraſſments were attributable, not a ſentence was permitted to eſcape himſelf, manifeſting the ſlighteſt ſymptom of diſſatisfaction at the conduct of that officer. He ſeemed perfectly perſuaded that the utmoſt exertions of the commander in chief were uſed to accompliſh every thing which had been expected from him.

It having been determined in council that all their future efforts ſhould be directed towards the effecting of a landing above the town, the camp in the Iſland of Orleans was entirely broken up; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part carried higher up the river.

Montcalm could not view this movement without alarm. That part of Quebec which faces the country had not been fortified with ſo much care as thoſe which look towards the water; and he was apprehenſive that a landing might be effected high up the river, and the town approached on its weaker ſide. At the ſame time he could not ſafely relinquiſh his

preſent poſition, becauſe the facility of tranſporting their troops, which the command of the water gave the Engliſh, would enable them to ſeize the ground on which he was now encamped, ſhould his army be moved above the town to prevent their landing in their quarter. Thus embarraſſed, he detached Monſieur de Bourgainville with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of the Engliſh up the river, and prevent their landing.

In this ſtate of things a bold plan was formed, well adapted to the adventurous ſpirit of the Engliſh general, and the deſperate ſituation of his affairs. This was to land the troops in the night, a ſmall diſtance above the city, on the northern bank of the river, and by ſcaling a precipice, acceſſible only by a narrow path, and therefore but weakly guarded, to gain by the morning the heights behind the town, where it has been ſtated to have been but ſlightly fortified. The difficulties attending the execution of this ſcheme are repreſented to have been numerous. The ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving, the intended and only practicable landing-place ſo narrow as eaſily to be miſſed in the dark, and the ſteep above, ſuch as not to be aſcended without difficulty even when unoppoſed. Under theſe circumſtances, it was apparent that a diſcovery and a vigorous oppoſition would not only defeat the enterpriſe, but probably occaſion the deſtruction of a great part of the troops engaged in it.

"This bold reſolution being taken, the admiral moved up the river, ſeveral leagues above the place where it was deſigned to land, and made demonſtrations of an intention to debark a body of troops at different places. During the night a ſtrong detachment was put on board the flat-bottomed boats, which fell ſilently down with the tide to the place fixed on for the deſcent, which was made with equal ſecrecy and vigour about a mile above Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break, Wolfe himſelf being the firſt man who leaped on ſhore. The Highlanders and light infantry who compoſed the van, under the particular command of Colonel Howe, were intended to ſecure a four-gun battery which defended an intrenched path, by which the heights were to be aſcended; and, diſlodging from thence a captain's guard, to cover the landing of the remaining troops. The violence of the current forced them rather below the point of debarkation, and this circumſtance increaſed their difficulties. However, ſcrambling up the precipice by the aid of the rugged projections of the rocks, and the branches of trees and plants growing on the cliffs, into which it was every where broken, they gained the heights, and very quickly diſperſed the guard, which did not make the reſiſtance to have been expected from the advantages of their ſituation. The whole army followed, up this narrow paſs; and having only encountered a ſcattering fire from ſome Canadians and Indians, from which very little loſs was ſuſtained, they gained the ſummit by the break of day, where the corps were formed under their reſpective leaders.

"The intelligence that the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the heights of Abraham was ſoon conveyed to Montcalm. Believing it to be impoſſible that an enterpriſe attended with ſo much difficulty could have been achieved, that officer ſuppoſed it to be only a feint, made with a ſmall detachment, for the purpoſe of drawing him from his preſent ſtrong and well-choſen poſition.

"On being convinced of his error, he comprehended at once the full force of the advantage which had been gained, and the neceſſity it impoſed on him of changing his plan of operations. He perceived that a battle was no longer avoidable, and that the fate of Quebec depended on its iſſue. He prepared for it with promptneſs and courage. Leaving his ſtrong camp at Montmorency, he croſſed the river St. Charles for the purpoſe of attacking the Engliſh army.

"This movement was made in the view of Wolf, who without loſs of time formed his order of battle. His right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and his left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louiſbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by the light infantry of Howe, who had now returned from the four-gun battery. The reſerve conſiſted of Webb's regiment drawn up in eight ſub diviſions, with large intervals between them.

"Montcalm had formed his right and left wing about equally of European and Colonial troops. His centre consisted of a column of Europeans; and two small field-pieces were brought up to play on the English line.

"In this order he marched to the attack, advancing in his front about fifteen hundred militia and Indians, who were sheltered by bushes, from whence they kept on the English an irregular and galling fire.

"The movement of the French indicating an intention to flank his left, General Wolfe ordered the batallion of Amherst, with the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of his line; where they were formed *en potence* under General Townshend, presenting to the enemy a double front.

"Disregarding the irregular fire of the Canadian militia and Indians, he ordered his troops to reserve themselves for the main body of the enemy, advancing in the rear of those irregulars; but in the mean time a field-piece which had been brought up played briskly, and with effect, on the French column.

"Montcalm had taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English; so that the two generals met each other, at the head of their respective troops, where the battle was most severe. The French advanced briskly to the charge, and commenced the action with great animation. The English are stated to have reserved their fire until the enemy were within forty yards of them, when they gave it with immense effect. It was kept up for some time with great spirit; when Wolfe, advancing at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg grenadiers with charged bayonets, received a mortal wound of which he soon afterwards expired. Undismayed by the loss of their general, the English continued their exertions under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved. He also received a ball through his body, which is stated to have passed through his lungs, and General Townshend took command of the British army. About the same time Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalion, received a mortal wound, and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The left wing and centre of the French began to give way; and, being pressed close with the English bayonet and Highland broad-sword, were driven, notwithstanding one attempt to rally and renew the attack, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles river.

"On the left and rear of the English the action was less severe, and the attack made by the enemy much less animated. The light infantry had been placed in houses; and Colonel Howe, the better to support them, had taken post with two companies, still further to the left, behind a copse. As the right of the enemy attacked the English left, he sallied from this position against their flanks, and threw them into disorder. In this critical moment, Townshend advanced several platoons of Amherst's regiment against their front; and thus was completely frustrated the intention the French general had formed of turning the left flank. Townshend maintained his position, for the purpose of keeping in check the right wing of the enemy, and a body of savages, stationed opposite the light infantry for the purpose of getting into and falling on their rear.

"In this state of the action, Townshend was informed that the command had devolved on him. Proceeding instantly to the centre, he found that part of the army thrown into some disorder by the ardor of pursuit, and his efforts were employed in restoring the line. Scarcely was this effected, when Monsieur de Bougainville, who had been detached as high as Cape Rouge to prevent a landing above, and who had hastened to the assistance of Montcalm, on his first hearing that the English had gained the plains of Abraham, appeared in the rear at the head of fifteen hundred men. Fortunately the right wing of the enemy, as well as their left and centre, was now entirely broken, and had been driven off the field. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery being advanced towards Bougainville, he retired; and Townshend did not think it advisable to risk the important advantages already gained, by a pursuit of this fresh body of troops through a difficult country.

"In this decisive battle, in which the numbers seem to have been nearly equal, but in which the English had

the immenſe advantage of being all diſciplined troops, while little more than half the enemy were of the ſame deſcription, the French regulars, who do not appear to have been well ſupported by the militia or Indians, were almoſt entirely cut to pieces.

On the part of the Engliſh the loſs was by no means ſo conſiderable as the fierceneſs of the action would have induced us to expect. The killed and wounded were leſs than ſix hundred men; but among the former was the commander in chief. This gallant officer, of whom the moſt exalted expectations had very juſtly been formed; whoſe uncommon merit and ſingular fate have preſented a rich theme for panegyric to both the poet and hiſtorian, received, in the commencement of the action, a ball in his wriſt: but without diſcovering the leaſt diſcompoſure, wrapping a handkerchief around his arm, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon afterwards he received a ſhot in the groin. This painful wound he alſo concealed; and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, when a third bullet pierced his breaſt. Though expiring, it was with reluctance he permitted himſelf to be conveyed into the rear, where, careleſs about himſelf, he diſcovered in the agonies of death the moſt anxious ſolicitude concerning the fate of the day. Being told that the enemy was viſibly broken, he reclined his head, from extreme faintneſs, on the arm of an officer ſtanding near him, but was ſoon arouſed with the diſtant ſound of—"They fly! they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. On being anſwered—"The French!" "Then," ſaid he, "I depart content;" and almoſt immediately expired in the arms of victory. "A death more glorious, and attended with circumſtances more pictureſque and intereſting, is no where to be found in the annals of hiſtory."

"With leſs of good fortune, but not leſs of heroiſm, expired the equally gallant Montcalm. The ſame love of glory, and the ſame fearleſsneſs of death, which in ſo remarkable a manner diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh hero, were not leſs conſpicuous in the conduct of his competitor for victory and for fame. He expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at hearing that his wound was mortal; and, when told he could ſurvive only a few hours, quickly replied,—"So much the better: I ſhall not then live to ſee the ſurrender of Quebec.

"The firſt days after the action were employed by General Townſhend in fortifying his camp, cutting a road up the precipice for the conveyance of his heavy artillary to the batteries on the heights, and making the neceſſary preparations for the ſiege of Quebec. But before his batteries were opened the town capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould, during the war, be protected in the free exerciſe of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights, leaving their future deſtinies to be decided by the general peace.

"General Townſhend ſeems to have been induced to allow better terms than would otherwiſe have been granted, from an apprehenſion that the place might ſtill be relieved by Baugainville, or by a detachment from the army near Montreal.

"Quebec, now in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, was garriſoned by about five thouſand men, under the command of General Murray; and the fleet ſailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The other volumes of this excellent work will appear with convenient ſpeed, and we ſhall furniſh our readers with an account of them immediately on their publication.

LI. AN ACCOUNT OF TRAVELS INTO THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. *In which is conſidered, the importance of the Cape of Good Hope to the different European Powers, as a Naval and Military Station; as a point of ſecurity to our Indian Trade and Settlements during a war, and as a Territorial Acquiſition and Commerical Emporium in time of Peace: with a Statiſtical Sketch of the whole Colony: compiled from authentic documents. By* JOHN BARROW, ESQ. *Late Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, auditor-general of public accounts at the Cape of Good Hope, and Secretary to Lieutenant-general Francis Dundas during his Government there. Quarto* 450 *pages with a view of Cape Town and various Charts. Cadell and Davies.*

THIS elaborate work consists of *six* Chapters of considerable length and full of information relative to that uncultivated part of the Globe.

A few Extracts will be gratifying.

Of *Travelling* in Africa take this specimen.

"The 9th of March was the hottest and most oppressive day I ever experienced in Southern Africa. I had no thermometer with me, but I afterwards learnt that, during the whole day nearly, the temperature in Cape Town was 104° of Fahrenheits's Scale. In the whole of this day's march, of about twenty miles, we were not able to procure a drop of water for the horses, except once just after starting, nor even any shade from the scorching rays of the sun; for trees of any description in this part of the country are as rare as Doctor Johnson found them to be, of as great an age as himself, in Scotland. The horse on which I was mounted was so much overcome by the heat, that it literally dropped down under me, and was unable to carry me any farther.

"Wearied and exhausted we reached, at length, the hovel of a shoemaker, near which we found a few puddles of muddy water, stagnating in the clayey bed of a rivulet, but it was so much impregnated with earth and salts that the horses, thirsty as they were, would scarcely touch it. At this place we contrived to pass the night, but we experienced a most uncomfortable lodging. Unluckily for us it happened to be Sunday, and, the shoemaker being known to all his neighbours, living within the circuit of twenty miles, and particularly to his *nearest* neighbours of three or four miles, to be a jolly good fellow, who always kept a glass of wine, and a strong *sopie* to regale his friends, the house was crowded with people. There was but two apartments, one of which was filled with the company; the other we occupied. This, it seemed, was made to answer the four-fold purpose of bed-chamber, work-shop, cellar, and storehouse. The heat of the weather, the closeness of the room, which had only one small aperture to admit the light, added to the mingled odours arising from stinking leather, bunches of onions, butchers' meat swarming with flies, fumes of tobacco, dregs of wine and gin, and Cape brandy, standing in pools on the clayed floor; in a word, such "a congregation of foul and pestilential vapours," were sufficient to nauseate stomachs much less squeamish than ours. Nor was the sense of feeling less annoyed by an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and musquitoes. Perhaps, indeed, it might be considered as an advantage in having two or three senses tormented at once; as the pain affecting one might, in a certain degree, be deadened by the acuteness of feeling in another. How often, in the course of this night, did I bless my good fortune, in having used my waggon for my lodging house in all my former long journies through this miserable country; inhabited by a still more miserable race of mortals! How many sleepless nights, and nauseous scenes, have I not avoided by adopting such a plan!

"To add to our present uncomfortable situation, the guests were perpetually interrupting us in their application to the wine cask, or the brandy bottle. Our patience, at length, being quite exhausted, we resolved to barricade the door. This, however, failed of success. The votaries of Bacchus were not so easily to be disappointed of their weekly libations. After several fruitless attempts to force the door, they thought of trying the window; but this small pigeon-hole, being much too narrow in its dimensions to admit the huge carcase of an African boor, oblidged them to have recourse to the expedient of sending in a thin Hottentot girl; but, on account of the peculiar shape of the women of this nation, the lower part of the body refused to follow where the head had passed, and she stuck fast in the window. This produced a prodigious burst of boisterous mirth; the girl, however, after a great deal of squeezing and pushing, effected the purpose, and procured for the tumultuous boors a supply of their favourite liquors. To prevent a return we barred in the window, and having thus completely made ourselves masters of the cellar, the boors after several vollies of imprecations, accompanied with thundering assaults, sometimes at the door, and then at the window, thought fit about midnight to leave the house, in search of another jovial neighbour at the distance, perhaps, of eight or ten miles. This

ſcene would have afforded an excellent ſubject for the pencil of Oſtade, who, judging from his pictures, muſt have been witneſs to many of the ſame kind.

"The noiſe of the Bacchanalians was accompanied by a ſtorm of thunder; and the rain, that fell in the courſe of the night, had rendered the air the next morning cool and refreſhing. It was the firſt ſhower that had fallen in this part of the country for near four months, and the effects of it on the ground were very ſenſibly perceived in the courſe of four days."

Of *Manners* at the Cape we ſelect this illuſtration.

"The ſanguinary character of many of the African coloniſts may be owing, perhaps, in a certain degree, to the circumſtance of their having been ſoldiers in German regiments ſerving abroad; where the leaſt relaxation from a rigid ſyſtem of diſcipline is followed up by the greateſt ſeverity of puniſhment. The ſoldier, having ſerved out the time of his engagement, which at moſt is five years, is at liberty to demand his diſcharge. If he is able to read and write, however indifferently, he uſually finds employment, as ſchoolmaſter, in a boor's family; if not qualified for ſuch a ſituation, he either engages as a ſort of ſervant, or hires himſelf to ſome butcher of the town, who ſends him to the extremities of the colony to collect ſheep and cattle. In all theſe ſituations he has the opportunity of making an intimate acquaintance with the boors, which generally leads to his marriage with one of their daughters. The parents of the girl ſpare him a few ſheep and cattle to commence with, on condition of their receiving half the produce as intereſt, until he can repay the capital; he looks out for a *place*, as it is called, no matter where, whether within or without the limits of the colony, and builds for himſelf a hut; with his cattle are conſigned to him, at the ſame time, and on the ſame terms, as he ſuppoſes, a few little Hottentot children to look after them; and on theſe little creatures, in the plenitude of his power, ſubject to no controul, he exerciſes the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment that his own irregularities had incurred when he was in the ranks.

"A very conſiderable portion of the inhabitants of the town is compoſed of people of this deſcription. Grown into affluence by the general proſperity that followed the conqueſt of the ſettlement, ſerjeants, and corporals, and trumpeters, are now men of the firſt conſequence, keep their ſlaves, and horſes, and carriages, and wallow in all the luxuries that the colony affords. But though they aſpire to the rank of gentlemen, they cannot diſguiſe the cloven foot. They are groſs in their manners, and vulgar in their converſation. Their language, in the preſence of women, is ſo coarſe and indecent, as would not be tolerated among civilized ſociety. A ſingle inſtance of this will be ſufficient to ſhew to what a low degree of delicacy and refinement they are yet advanced. One of this vulgar herd, who is conſidered as a great man in the Cape, took his wife and daughters to ſee a whale, that had been thrown aſhore near Green Point. It happened to be a female and was lying on its back. The burgher being ſtruck with the near reſemblance of certain parts to thoſe of the human ſpecies, with great exultation, and in the moſt vulgar and indelicate terms, pointed out his diſcovery to the ladies, who ſeemed to reliſh all the good jokes the burgher ſaid on this occaſion; and, in preſence of a number of ſpectators, the old dame actually aſſiſted him in a very cloſe, and by no means *ſuperficial*, examination into this ſingular phenomenon in natural hiſtory, which, among other properties, analogous to animals that ſuckle their young, determined the great Linnæus to aſſign a place to the whale in the ſame claſs with human beings.

"By indolent habits, exceſs of food, and fondneſs for indulging in ſleep, they become no leſs groſs in their perſons, than vulgar in their manners. A young lady deſcribed the Cape and its inhabitants in very few words. *De menſchen zyn moie dik en vet de huizen moei wit en groen.* "*The people are all nice and plump; the houſes are prettily whitewaſhed and painted green.*" I believe there is no country in the world that affords ſo large a proportion of unwieldy and bulky people; and I am certain there is none where the animal appetites are indulged with leſs reſtraint, the moſt predominant of which are eating and drinking, or where the powers of body

or mind are capable of leſs exertion. "When the Devil catches a man idle he generally "ſets him to work," is a proverb which is every day exemplified at the Cape of Good Hope. They are active only in miſchief; and crimes againſt morality meet with applauſe if the end be ſucceſsful. A man, who in his dealings can cheat his neighbour, is conſidered as a *ſlim menſch*, a clever fellow; even ſtealing is not regarded as criminal, nor does it materially affect the character of the thief. Truth is not held as a moral virtue, and lying paſſes for ingenuity.

"There is a great want of affection among near relations; it has been obſerved, indeed, that there are ſcarcely two brothers in the Cape who will ſpeak to each other. The manner in which children are brought up, and in which the economy of a family is managed, is little favourable to ſocial intercourſe, or likely to excite that harmony of ſentiment and union of intereſts which, in more civilized countries, are cheriſhed and grow to maturity by the genial warmth and cheerfulneſs and comfort of a family fire-ſide. Here the members of the ſame family ſeldom meet together. The huſband, having ſlept the greateſt part of the day, finds his bed irkſome in the morning and riſes with the dawn. He takes his ſolitary cup of coffee, or *ſopie*, or both, and ſmokes his pipe; then lounges about the houſe in his *ſlaap mutz* and *nagt cabaay*, his night cap and gown, or parades the *ſtoop*, or raiſed platform before the door, in the ſame dreſs, with a long pipe ſtuck in his mouth. About nine o'clock he takes a ſolid breakfaſt, and a few glaſſes of wine, continues to lounge about the houſe till dinner-hour, which is punctually at twelve, or, if the weather be tempting, or any news ſtirring, he walks out to meet his comrades. Immediately after dinner he goes to bed, riſes again at five or ſix, makes or receives viſits, when he ſmokes tobacco and drinks wine till nine o'clock, which is the ſignal for every one to repair to his own houſe. Here a hot ſupper, conſiſting of eight, ten or even twenty ſolid diſhes of fiſh and butcher's meat, dreſſed in a variety of ſhapes, is ready to receive him, ſmoking on the table. This is the favourite meal, to which he conſiders all that he has eaten and drunken and ſmoked in the courſe of the day, as whets only to the appetite, and preparatives to the grand feaſt. Thus day after day,

"The lazy glutton ſafe at home will keep,
"Indulge his ſloth, and fatten with his ſleep."

"The good woman of the houſe riſes about the ſame early hour with her huſband; takes her coffee alone; ſcolds the ſlaves; ſets them their daily taſk; dreſſes for a *vendutie* or public ſale, of which there are never fewer than three or four in the town, or its vicinity, every day of the week; comes home to dinner at twelve, and then goes to bed; riſes again with her huſband, receives or pays viſits with him; but here they ſeparate; the men drink and ſmoke in one room; the women are left to themſelves in another. The poor children ſcramble as well as they can among the ſlaves, to whom they are conſigned, one in one room, and another in another; each, in the better ſort of families, having its proper ſlave, called its *aya*, a Malay term, borrowed, perhaps, from the Portugueſe or Italian, ſignifying nurſe or protectreſs; and, by an inevitable conſequence, the *aya* is looked up to through life with more affection than the natural parents.

"Little as character is regarded, they are extremely tenacious of their rank. More quarrels have ariſen about ladies taking precedency in the church, or placing their chairs neareſt the pulpit, than on any other occaſion. In the government of Lord Macartney a ſerious diſpute aroſe on this ſubject, between the ladies of the Landroſt or Chief Magiſtrate of the diſtrict, and of the Miniſter of the pariſh; and memorial was preſented after memorial on both ſides, ſtating their mutual claims and mutual grievances. His Lordſhip, feeling the delicacy of interpoſing his authority between two ladies of ſuch high rank, recommended a compromiſe, ſuggeſting, in caſe that ſhould not go down, that he would be under the neceſſity of adopting the deciſion of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, when on a ſomewhat ſimilar occaſion he ſettled a diſpute of precedency between two women of faſhion at Bruſſels; "Let the greateſt ſimple-

ton of the two have the *par* ;" which made the two ladies prodigiously civil to each other ever afterwards, both striving which should give, instead of take, the precedency. A Dutch nobleman, who is the only titled man in the colony, and who held in the old government one of the highest employments, felt no degradation in associating with butchers, nor in bestowing the hand of his daughter on an attorney who, for his mal-practices, had been publicly declared *infamous* by the Court of Justice; but he would have thought himself disgraced if his wife and daughter were deprived of their rank in the church.

The *Importance* of the Cape is thus stated.

" As the French, in all human probability, will very soon be deprived of all their colonies in the west, they will be more anxious to increase their establishments in the east; and however limited might have been the extent of their views on the memorable expedition to Egypt, there cannot now be a difference of opinion on the subject. India is, undoubtedly, their object, and to gain that object they will leave no measures untried, nor regard the sacrifice of thousands. They have now indeed, stronger motives than ever for attempting the destruction of our power in the east. Driven from the most valuable of their West India settlements, by a conduct of which the consequences might easily have been foreseen, and in a fair way of losing the rest, they will seek for reparation in Egypt and in India. If, however, England can succeed in keeping them out of the Eastern Seas, the feeble remains of their maritime strength must speedily be extinguished; for without colonies they can have little or no foreign trade, and consequently no seamen. To effect this desireable end, it will be indispensably necessary for England to regain possession of the Cape of Good Hope, which, with Malta and Ceylon, are the best guarantees for the tranquility of our Indian trade and settlements, and without which their security must always be considered as precarious.

" It is almost superfluous to observe how much every nation of Europe is interested, that the power of the British empire should, at this moment, be upheld by every possible security that may enable her to resist the overwhelming and insatiable ambition of France. Do the other powers vainly hope to meet a better fate under her triumphant arms than Holland, Hanover, or Switzerland have experienced, where, before the palsying arm of French tyranny had destroyed their health and vigour, the people were prosperous, happy, and free? Would Denmark or Sweden, Prussia or the principalities of Germany, be treated with more consideration than the Italian provinces have been? Will Spain and Portugal increase their influence, wealth, and commerce by being degraded into tributary provinces of France, and do they promise themselves a better security of their colonies by the humiliating alliance? Nothing, surely, but the most morbid apathy could prevent these and the rest of Europe from rising in a mass to wipe off the disgrace that has already fallen on some, and momentarily threatens the rest. How is it possible that those powers, who yet have the means of rescuing Europe from universal misery, can remain inactive, and insensible of their own impending danger? A little island, animated with a great soul, is their only security, and if that should fail, the tyrant's fell grasp will soon reach them all. The system, deeply rooted in the mind of the Consular Government, appears to be that of universal and arbitrary dominion—to reduce all Europe into gallic provinces as Asia fell under the yoke of Rome.

" Nor would the dreadful effects of French aggrandizement be confined to Europe, were they not completely checked by the maritime power of Great Britain. Asia, Africa, and South America would soon be overrun with Frenchmen. No one can doubt, for a moment, what the fate of Egypt would be if England should relinquish the possession of Malta. The First Consul, indeed, in an unguarded moment of frenzy, has most unequivocally avowed it. The destruction of the Ottoman Government is another object of French ambition. One of the most intelligent of the French officers, in his correspondence with the Executive Directory, observes, " The Ottoman Empire is generally regarded as an old edifice, tottering to its fall. The European powers have long been preparing to divide its scattered fragments, and

many politicians conceive that the cataſtrophe is cloſe at hand. In this ſuppoſition, they think it but right that France ſhould have her ſhare of the ſpoils; *and the part allotted to her is Egypt.*"

"But let thoſe profeſſed Coſmopolites, who, from principles of pretended humanity, declare themſelves friends to the diſmemberment of the Turkiſh Empire, reflect ſeriouſly on the conſequences that would inevitably enſue were France concerned in the diſſolution and partition of this government. However deſirable it may ſeem to free the Greeks from the miſerable yoke under which they long have groaned, yet a ſudden tranſition from ſlavery to freedom would ſcarcely be borne with more moderation by the Greeks, than by the French at home or the negroes in the Weſt India Iſlands. Nor would the horrors of a revolution be confined to the Turkiſh provinces. The licentious army who might effect it, trained and accuſtomed to rapine and plunder, led on by needy or ambitious officers, who, on their part, are ſpurred by the aggrandizing views of their government, would not be content to ſit down with Egypt as their ſhare of the plunder. As Malta was the ſtep that led them to Egypt, ſo would Egypt be to Syria, and Syria to the poſſeſſion of India; to the plunder of that wealth which, in their opinion, is the great ſupport of Britain. Thus would the ſcourge of their inordinate ambition be felt from the Nile to the Ganges, and from thence, in all probability, to the Yellow Sea. And by adverting to the geographical poſition of the ſouthern extremity of Africa, in relation to other countries, and to the advantages it commands as a military ſtation, we ſhall perceive with what eaſe might all the ports of South America be made ſubſervient to their ambitious views, and how ſpeedily that great continent from the Iſthmus of Darien to Terra del Fuego would fall into their inſatiable graſp. The accompliſhment of theſe objects, chimerical as they may appear, are prevented only by the tranſcendant and invincible ſtrength of the Britiſh navy.

"As it muſt therefore obviouſly be the intereſt of the whole world that the reſtleſs and aggrandizing ſpirit of France ſhould effectually be counteracted, and as the Cape of Good Hope and Malta in her poſſeſſion would forward her views at univerſal dominion, there can be no reaſonable objections made on the part of the other powers of Europe againſt theſe two grand points of ſecurity being left, at a general peace, in the hands of England, or, at all events, to be protected by Engliſh garriſons, as ſome guarantee againſt the deſigns of the general enemy of the human race.

We muſt add the *Concluſion* of the volume.

"IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED.

"Before any conſiderable degree of improvement can be expected in thoſe parts of the country, not very diſtant from the Cape, it will be neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to increaſe the quantity and to reduce the preſent enormous price of labour. The moſt effectual way, perhaps, of doing this, would be the introduction of Chineſe. Were about ten thouſand of this induſtrious race of men diſtributed over the Cape diſtrict, and thoſe diviſions of Stellenboſch and Drakenſtein which lie on the Cape ſide of the mountains, the face of the country would exhibit a very different appearance in the courſe of a few years; the markets would be better and more reaſonably ſupplied, and an abundance of ſurplus produce acquired for exportation. It is not here meant that theſe Chineſe ſhould be placed under the farmers; a ſituation in which they might probably become, like the poor Hottentots, rather a load and an incumbrance on the colony, than a benefit to it. The pooreſt peaſant in China, if a free man, acquires notions of property. After paying a certain proportion of his produce to the State, which is limited and defined, the reſt is entirely his own; and though the Emperor is conſidered as the ſole proprietary of the ſoil, the land is never taken from him ſo long as he continues to pay his proportion of produce to Government.

"I ſhould propoſe then, that all the pieces of ground intervening between the large farms and other waſte lands ſhould be granted to the Chineſe on payment of a moderate rent after the firſt ſeven years. The Britiſh Government would find no difficulty in prevailing upon that, or a greater,

number of theſe people to leave China; nor is the Government of that country ſo very ſtrict or ſolicitous in preventing its ſubjects from leaving their native land as is uſually ſuppoſed. The maxims of the State forbad it at a time when it was more politic to prevent emigrations than now, when an abundant population, occaſionally above the level of the means of ſubſiſtence, ſubjects thouſands to periſh at home for want of the neceſſaries of life. Emigrations take place every year to Manilla, Batavia, Prince of Wales' Iſland, and to other parts of the eaſtern world.

"In the diſtant parts of the colony, where there is waſte land in the greateſt abundance, it would be adviſeable to hold out the ſame encouragement to the Hottentots as they have met with from the Hernhüters at Bavian's Kloof, a meaſure that would be equally beneficial to the boor and the Hottentot, and prevent the many horrid murders that diſgrace humanity.

"The next ſtep to improvement would be to oblige all the Dutch landholders to encloſe their eſtates, agreeably to the original plans which are depoſited in the Secretary's Office. By planting hedge rows and trees, the grounds would not only be better ſheltered, but the additional quantity of moiſture that would be attracted from the air, would prevent the ſurface from being ſo much ſcorched in the ſummer months. The almond, as I have obſerved, grows rapidly in the drieſt and pooreſt ſoils, and ſo does the pomgranate, both of which would ſerve for hedges. The lemon tree, planted thick, makes a profitable as well as an extremely beautiful and excellent hedge, but it requires to be planted on ground that is rather moiſt. The *keurboom* or *ſophora capenſis* grows in hard dry ſoils, as will alſo two or three of the larger kind of proteas.

"The vineyards, inſtead of being pruned down to the ground, ſo that the bunches of grapes frequently reſt upon it, ſhould be led up props or eſpaliers, or trailed, as in Madeira, along the ſurface of lattice work. The ſtrong Spaniſh reed that grows abundantly in the colony is well ſuited for this purpoſe, which would not only free the grapes from the peculiar earthy taſte that is always communicated to the wine, but would cauſe the ſame extent of vineyard to produce more than double the quantity of grapes. A family or two from the iſland of Madeira, to inſtruct them in the proceſs of making wine, would be of eſſential uſe to the colony.

"A better ſyſtem of tillage of the corn lands could not fail to be productive of a conſiderable increaſe in the returns of grain. The breed of horſes has ſo much improved ſince the capture by the Engliſh, that theſe may ſoon be ſubſtituted for oxen in all the purpoſes of huſbandry, and ſmall Engliſh ploughs made to ſuperſede their preſent unwieldy machines.

"With reſpect to the country boors, it will require a long time before any effectual ſteps can be adopted for the improvement of their condition. One of the moſt eligible plans, perhaps, would be the eſtabliſhment of fairs or markets at Algoa Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, Moſſel Bay, and Saldanha Bay; to which, at certain fixed periods, once a month or quarter for inſtance, they might drive down their cattle, and bring their other articles of produce for ſale.

"This might immediately be effected by prohibiting the butchers from ſending round their ſervants to collect cattle at the boors' houſes; and by giving public notice of the times at which the markets would be held at the different places. At Algoa Bay a great variety of produce, beſides ſheep and horned cattle, might be exhibited together, not only from the boors, but alſo from the Kaffers and the Hottentots. Theſe people would, no doubt, be very glad to give their ivory and ſkins of leopards and antelopes in exchange for iron, beads, and tobacco, and perhaps coarſe cloths, provided they were allowed to take the advantage of a fair and open market. The honey that abounds in all the foreſts would be collected by the Hottentots, and brought to the market at Plettenberg's Bay, where the great plenty of timber might alſo lead to a very extenſive commerce, and furniſh employment for numbers of this race of natives, who require only proper encouragement to become valuable members of ſociety. An eſtabliſhment of Moravian miſſionaries at this bay would prove of infinite benefit to the colony. It would be difficult to perſuade the boor of this, and nothing

would convince him of the truth of it, but the circumſtance of his being able to procure as good a waggon for 150 or 200 rix dollars as he muſt now purchaſe at the rate of 400 dollars in Cape Town.

"It would be no ſmall advantage to the boors, who dwell ſome hundred miles from the ſea-coaſt, to carry back in their waggons a quantity of ſalted fiſh, which might be prepared to any extent at all the bays; this article would not only furniſh them with an agreeable variety to their preſent unremitting conſumption of fleſh meat three times a day, but would ſerve alſo, according to their own ideas, as a corrective to the ſuperabundance of bile which the excluſive uſe of butchers' meat is ſuppoſed to engender. To cultivate the fiſheries on the coaſt of Africa would afford the means of employment and an ample ſource of proviſion for a great number of Hottentot families.

"At Moſſel Bay, beſides the fiſheries, there are two articles, the natural produce of the country, in the collection and preparation of which the Hottentots might very advantageouſly be employed, both to themſelves and to the community. Theſe are aloes and barilla, the plant that produces the firſt growing in every part of the diſtrict that ſurrounds the bay, and that from the aſhes of which the other is procured being equally abundant in the plain through which the Olifant River flows at no great diſtance from the bay. Here too the cultivation of grain and pulſe might be greatly extended.

"If the introduction of Chineſe were effected, the markets of Cape Town and Saldanha Bay could not fail to be moſt abundantly ſupplied with wine, grain, pulſe, fruit, and vegetables; probably to ſuch a degree as not to be excelled in the world, either for price, quality, or quantity.

"The conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem of eſtabliſhing markets would be the immediate erection of villages at theſe places. To each village might be allowed a church, with a clergyman, who might act at the ſame time as village ſchoolmaſter. The farmers' children put out to board would contribute to the ſpeedy enlargement of the villages. The farmers would thus be excited to a ſort of emulation, by ſeeing the produce of each other compared together and prices offered for them proportionate to their quality, inſtead of their being delivered to the butcher, as they now are, good and bad together, at ſo much per head. The good effects produced by occaſionally meeting in Society would ſpeedily be felt. The langour, the liſtleſſneſs, and the heavy and vacant ſtare, that characterize the African peaſant, would gradually wear off. The meeting together of the young people would promote the dance, the ſong, and galbols on the village green, now totally unknown; and cheerfulneſs and converſation would ſucceed to the preſent ſtupid lounging about the houſe, ſullen ſilence, and torpid apathy. The acquaintance with new objects would beget new ideas, rouſing the dormant powers of the mind to energy, and of the body to action. By degrees, as he became more civilized by ſocial intercourſe, humanity as well as his intereſt would teach him to give encouragement to the Hottentots in his employ to engage in uſeful labour, and to feel, like himſelf, the benefits ariſing from honeſt induſtry.

"The eſtabliſhment of villages in an extenſive country thinly peopled may be conſidered as the firſt ſtep to a higher ſtate of civilization. A town or a village, like the heart in the animal frame, collects, receives, and diſperſes the moſt valuable products of the country of which it is the centre, giving life, energy and activity by the conſtant circulation which it promotes. Whereas while men continue to be thinly ſcattered over a country, although they may have within their reach all the neceſſaries of life in a ſuperfluity, they will have very few of its comforts or even of its moſt ordinary conveniences. Without a mutual intercourſe and aſſiſtance among men, life would be a conſtant ſucceſſion of make-ſhifts and ſubſtitutions.

"The good effects reſulting from ſuch meaſures are not to be expected as the work of a day, but they are ſuch as might, in time, be brought about. It would not, however, be attended with much difficulty to bring the people cloſer together, and to furniſh them with the means of ſuitable education for their children. To open

them new markets for their produce, and, by frequent intercourſe with one another, to make them feel the comforts and the conveniences of ſocial life. Whether the Dutch will be able to ſucceed in doing this, or whether they will give themſelves the trouble of making the experiment, is doubtful, but ſhould it once again become a Britiſh ſettlement, theſe or ſimilar regulations would be well derſerving the attention of Government.

"But, above all, the eſtabliſhment of a proper public ſchool in the capital, with maſters from Europe qualified to undertake the different departments of literature, demands the firſt attention of the Government, whether it be Dutch or Engliſh. For as long as the fountain-head is ſuffered to remain troubled and muddy, the attempt would be vain to purify the ſtreams that iſſue from it. It is painful to ſee ſo great a number of promiſing young men as are to be found in Cape Town, entirely ruined for want of a ſuitable education. The mind of a boy of fourteen cannot be ſupoſed to remain in a ſtate of inactivity, and if not imployed in laying up a ſtock of uſeful knowledge, the chances are, it will imbibe a taſte for all the vices with which it is ſurrounded, and of which the catalogue in this colony is by no means deficient.

"CONCLUSION.

"Having now taken a view of the importance and value of the Cape of Good Hope, as a military and naval ſtation, as a ſeat of commerce, as a central depôt for the Southern Whale Fiſhery, and as a territorial poſſeſſion I ſhall only add, by way of concluſion, that under the preſent implacable diſpoſition of France towards this country, and the inſatiable ambition of its Government, Great Britain never can relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of this colony, for any length of time, without ſeriouſly endangering the ſafety of her India trade and the exiſtence of her empire in the Eaſt; both of which were effectually ſecured, at leaſt from external attack, by the occupation of this important outwork.

"The facility it affords, at all times, of throwing into India a ſpeedy reinforcement of well-ſeaſoned troops, which never can be ſupplied effectually from England how much ſo ever they may be required, muſt always ſtamp an indelible value on the Cape. How deſireable would it be, at the preſent momentous criſis, to have the uſual garriſon there of 5000 effective men, to reinforce our ſmall but active army in India, inſtead of ſending troops from England, of whom, judging from paſt experience, two-thirds of thoſe who may ſurvive the voyage, will be totally unfit, on their arrival there, for any kind of ſervice. It is to be hoped then, that the Directors of the Eaſt India Company are at length become ſenſible of their error with regard to this important colony, and having ſeen it, that ſuch meaſures have been ſuggeſted and ſolicited by them as may again put us in poſſeſſion of that advance poſt, by which *their political and commercial intereſts in the Eaſt Indies will be ſecured and promoted*, and without which thoſe intereſts will conſtantly be expoſed to dangers that may not only threaten but finally terminate in a total ſubverſion:—*Et vitam impendere vero.*"

The View of the *Cape Town* is intereſting and the Charts appear to have been drawn with care and neatneſs and accuracy.

LII. VIRTUOUS POVERTY, *a Tale, in three volumes, by* HENRY SIDDONS. *Phillips*, 13*s.* 6*d.*

THIS pleaſing Novel, whoſe characters are well drawn, has this DEDICATION:

"I have endeavoured to draw a mother in the moſt amiable light; I have likewiſe endeavoured to ſhew a ſon impreſſed with filial veneration, love, and tenderneſs. The picture is but faintly drawn, yet I truſt and hope the dear original will not *miſtake* it."

As a fair ſpecimen we give

"HAYWARD'S ACCOUNT OF MARTINA.

"While I was travelling through Oxfordſhire, upon an affair of ſome conſequence, my attention was attracted, my curioſity excited, and my feelings very much intereſted, with the many accounts I heard of a very ſingular young woman, who had been a long time the common ſubject of converſation through the whole of that county. She generally made her ap-

pearance at a leſſer inn, at about eleven o'clock at night: her countenance was ſaid to be extremely beautiful; though her eyes were wild to an appearance of delirium: her cloaths bore the marks of former gentility, and were always remarkably clean; but ſo ragged, that on a windy day they fluttered with every blaſt, and were agitated with every paſſing breeze! Her fine hair flowed wildly down her back, and her white ſkin was terribly defaced with thorns and briars. She carried a large bundle in her arms, from which ſhe would ſuffer no one to relieve her, and betrayed ſigns of the moſt violent agitation if any body attempted to examine the contents. When ſhe came to the inn, ſhe ſeated herſelf by the kitchen fire; —placed her bundle on her knee, and wept and ſobbed over it for ſome moments, with the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of tenderneſs. She then began to ſing aloud, in a tone ſo wild, ſo ſo ſhrill, and yet ſo melodious, that the moſt ſavage hearts were ſoftened at her mad ditties, and the rough labourer melted at her ſorrows, and offered her the alms, ſhe invariably refuſed, with expreſſions of wounded pride and mortified vanity.

"She generally commanded reſpect wherever ſhe went. Once a brute in human ſhape uſed ſome coarſe words to her, as ſhe ſat warming her hands on a wood fire, in a little ſolitary public houſe upon a wild moor; yet though the night was dark and rainy, ſhe ſnatched up her bundle, and darting a look of contempt upon the ſavage who had inſulted her miſery, fearleſsly exxpoſed herſelf to all the inclemency of the elements! She carried an incomprehenſible charm about her, which made her beloved, and reſpected as ſoon as ſhe was ſeen, and pitied before ſhe was known. There was not a maſter or miſtreſs of an inn within forty miles round, who had not a bed for the mad girl, (ſuch was the name by which ſhe was known) whenever her melancholy wanderings chanced to lead her to their homes.

"I heard ſo much of this daughter of ſorrow, that my heart yearned to ſee her—to ſoothe her—and to learn the ſtory of her ſufferings: Heaven heard my prayer, and was moſt mercifully pleaſed to grant it.

"I arrived late at an inn one night, and was ſitting down to a ſolitary meal, when a voice ſtruck my ear, which thrilled upon my very heart ſtrings; the tone was ſo melancholy, yet ſo loud and ſhrill, that I felt the moſt ſympathetic ſadneſs I had ever experienced in the whole courſe of my life. The tears ran like rain down my cheeks, and my heart heaved with ſwelling emotions, more violent, yet more ſoft than any I had ever felt before; I enquired of the waiter the meaning of thoſe extraordinary ſounds?

"It is the poor mad girl, Sir," ſaid he, "who comes here to ſleep on the eighth day of every month."

"I enquired the particulars of the man, who recapitulated every thing I had heard ſo circumſtantially, that I was convinced it muſt be the young woman I had been ſo long and ſo anxiouſly deſirous of meeting.

"The feeling emotion of the fellow, while he told her little hiſtory, delighted me! it convinced me at once of the worth of his own heart, and the merits of the unfortunate creature he ſo pathetically lamented.

I begged to ſee her, and he conducted me to the little neat kitchen, where ſhe ſat ſinging by the fire. When ſhe came to the end of the third ſtanza of her wild ditty, ſhe ſtopped; and taking her bundle of clean white linen from her lap, ſtared at the fire with a vacant look, heaved a deep ſigh, and burſt into a flood of tears: "I neglect thee, my little angel," ſaid ſhe, "thy mother's heart is harder than the ſnow ſtorm—no one ſees thee —no one can reproach thee with thy birth!—no one can call thee—fie! fie! fie!—it is a naughty world! Thou lookeſt like an angel—an angel thou art!—God is good! he will correct thy father and thy mother for their ſins—but he will not puniſh *thee*, my pretty little fellow—he will make *thee* a cherub, and one of the faireſt of the cherubims ſhalt thou be!—come, come, let thy mother warm thee—this ſnow ſtorm is paſt, and ſhe ſhall ſing to thee,"

Oh how ſhall I paint my feelings, my horror, my ſurpriſe, when I ſaw her take the cloaths of her dead child, ſo wrapped up as at firſt ſight to appear like a living infant, and place them on her knee! She printed a thouſand impaſſioned agonizing kiſſes upon the

figure; talked, wept, warmed and ſung to it, as if it had been a living baby!

On a ſudden, as if ſhe heard ſome noiſe, ſhe wrapped the figure up again, and continued crying bitterly, and talking to herſelf.

"Huſh, they are coming! my father and mother are behind us; but they ſhall not find us out, Edmund; we will hide us in the buſhes! never heed the ſnow, my darling! thou canſt not be colder than thou art, and thy mother ſhall warm thee in her boſom. It is thy grand-mother, boy, and we muſt fly or ſhe will kill thee —oh! oh! it was all her doing—ſhe firſt ſhewed thy father to me? ſhe bade me love him—and then!"

"Here ſhe muttered ſome few incoherent words, and fell weeping and hugging her little burthen with more violence than ever.

"I knew from the firſt glance who and what ſhe was; I advanced towards her with an air of reſpect, and gently ſaid, "Comfort yourſelf, afflicted Martina, it is a friend who ſpeaks to you."

"She lifted up her eyes, rolled them wildly around, then ſhrieked out, "he knows me! oh God! he knows me!" and fell ſenſeleſs on the ground.

"When ſhe awoke from her trance ſhe revived to reaſon, but revived to miſery. The paſt ruſhed on her memory, and a ſcene enſued too dreadful for me to paint, what then would it be for a father to hear?

"When ſhe left your houſe, ſhe had wandered, ſhe knew not whither: her ideas are ſtill *vague*. All that ſhe can recollect is, that ſhe was taken into the houſe of a cottager, where ſhe was attended with every care, till ſhe was delivered of the fruit of her error.

"The people did all they could to diſcover who and what ſhe was; but her ſenſe of guilt and ſhame enabled her to keep a guard upon her tongue; and in her wildeſt ravings, not one word eſcaped her which could give the moſt diſtant clue to lead to a knowledge of her name or her connections. Theſe worthy people maintained her for a long time: the exact period ſhe cannot remember, as her diſorder had entirely defaced all her powers of computation. She had reaſon enough, however, in her madneſs to ſee that ſhe was a heavy tax upon theſe good creatures, who were humane enough to deprive their own children of a portion of their hard-earned bread to give it to her. She was hurt at this, and made an attempt to eſcape from them: they twice detected her in this undertaking, and for a long time watched her more ſtrictly than ever. She was bent, however, upon quitting them, and made her eſcape with her little boy in her arms: from that time to the hour when I was ſo fortunate as to meet her, all appears like a *dream* to the poor wretch: ſhe remembers nothing but walking in a constant round from morning till night, with her baby in HER ARMS, and reſting at the ſeveral inns whenever the call of hunger demanded her ſtay. She had found very great humanity from *every one*, but had taken care not to render herſelf burthenſome by never taking up her lodging in the ſame houſe above once a month.

"She remembers being obliged to lie all one ſnowy ſtormy night under an oak tree. When ſhe awoke in the morning, ſhe found her baby cold and ſtiff: the poor child had periſhed through the inclemency of the weather. She would never believe that the child was dead."

"Once at an inn, the maſter and miſtreſs of the houſe propoſed to *bury* it: ſhocked at the idea, ſhe refuſed to conſent. The people executed their purpoſe while ſhe was aſleep: ſhe roſe early the next morning and diſappeared with the child's cloaths carefully wrapped up in her apron, reſolving never more to approach the ſpot where ſhe thought they wiſhed to bury her baby *alive*, and to keep it concealed from every eye in *future*.

"This," ſaid Hayward, "is all her ſhattered memory would allow her to unfold; and this account, *imperfect* as it is, ſhe related with very great *difficulty*, and at many different *intervals*.

"What remains is eaſily told. I ordered her to be kept with every care at the inn, which we are approaching, and ſent for an able phyſician from Oxford to attend her. I wrote to London: I came myſelf to ſee how your heart was diſpoſed to her. If I had not found *ſome reaſon* to imagine that ſorrow had ſoftened it, truſt me, my good Sir, I had

never ſought you out. I candidly confeſs, that your former life, your ardor in the purſuit of money, had ſo diſguſted me, that nothing but your miſfortunes could ever have intereſted me in your behalf. You have had many ſolemn leſſons. It would be a barbarity in me to add to them by unavailing regrets, or fruitleſs admonitions."

"Here Hayward concluded. The reſt of the journey was paſſed in a melancholy manner; but we have no room left for the deſcription, which would be heavy, without tending to elucidate any part of the hiſtory, which is now drawing faſt to a concluſion.

"When they arrived at the inn where Martina lay confined, the waiter informed Hayward that the lady had been attended according to his directions, that ſhe was now much worſe than when he left her, and that the doctor was at preſent with her.

"When the phyſician came down ſtairs, the tears were in his eyes: he declared he had never been more truly intereſted for a patient in the whole courſe of his practice; that if ever there was a *true penitent* in the world, *ſhe* was one; but that he feared he had paid his *laſt* viſit: ſhe was ſpeechleſs, though ſtill ſenſible: within an hour (ſaid he) and pain and ſuffering will be to her *no more*.

"Thank God!" fervently ejaculated the mournful father; "then I ſhall *yet* bleſs her before ſhe dies. The goodneſs of the Almighty is infinite! He is merciful even in his chaſtiſements! This is more than I deſerve."

"He then implored that he might be led to the chamber of Martina. Hayward vehemently oppoſed this propoſition; but, contrary to even the *hopes* of Francis, the phyſician declared that he could *do no harm*, and that it would be an act of mercy to the dying girl, who had reconciled herſelf to her *heavenly* Father, to know that ſhe had made her peace with her *earthly* parent alſo.

"He conducted the mournful Dives to her apartment, and made him wait at the door till he had communicated the tidings to his patient, who, though in great pain, ſtill was ſenſible of all that was paſſing around her.

"She kiſſed the doctor's extended hand, when ſhe had ſlowly learned the good tidings he had brought her: tranquil tears rolled down her woe-wan cheek, and ſhe looked towards the door with a *placid* yet an *anxious* expectation. The phyſician came to Francis, and, after giving him many cautions to repreſs the vehemence of his feelings, bid him enter.

"He approached the bed, drew aſide the curtains—there was Martina: but ſo altered! The beauty which had charmed him was fled! Her eye was hollow, her cheek was pale! Still it was his child; and while the angel of death had altered her feautures, thoſe features to him were lovely yet. He let fall a ſhower of tears on her pillow as he kiſſed her pallid cheek: then, ſeating himſelf by her ſide, he took her hand. Her languid eyes that moment were illumined with two ſtreams of animated fire: he imagined he ſaw halo play about her head: he looked at her earneſtly; they were rivetted *eye to eye* for above an hour. As he prayed to her and bleſſed her, ſhe ſmiled with angel ſweetneſs on his face. The convulſive agonies of death came on: the phyſician begged him to quit the room; but ſhe claſped his hand ſo *hard*, and gave him a look of ſuch expreſſion, that he ſobbed out—"Oh, *impoſſible*."

"Convulſions rent her delicate frame; ſhe ſtruggled, but ſtill quitted not the hand of her father: at laſt, with the violent effort of pain, ſhe raiſed herſelf on her bed, cried in agony—"*Now*, now." A ſmile played on her face, as ſhe murmured, "*I go*—my ſins are forgiven! Father, bleſs....."

"With this laſt word ſhe left her graſp, but left it not till the laſt breath of life had paſſed her lips; and the once loved child was now cold and lifeleſs.

"Hayward tore the father from the corpſe. A hearſe was ordered to convey the body to London, whither, in two days afterwards, they all ſet forward.

"The proceſſion was a ſad one. The ſpirits of both were ſo dejected, that the friend, the benevolent, the good Hayward, for once in his life, was unable to conſole the afflicted. He groaned inwardly at the melan-

choly ſcenes he had witneſſed; yet ſuch, ſaid he to himſelf, are the daily conſequences of unlawful love! and wilful man ſtill perſeveres!

"The melancholy cavalcade arrived at the door of Tibullus, and damped a ſcene of heart-felt joy, which had juſt reconciled St. Leger to all the world.

"During the abſence of Francis, Jane Wildfire, almoſt mad with joy, had broke in upon Henry and Cecilia as they were reading together, followed by a negro in a jacket and trowſers: the negro had a little girl in his arms, who no ſooner ſaw St. Leger and his wife, than ſhe clapped her infant hands together, and ſaid with a ſmile, "That's my father, and that's my "mother." I cannot poſſibly deſcribe the effect of this exclamation: thoſe who *have* children of their own, will feel it; and thoſe who have *none*, muſt wait *till* they have.

"The black was Tombo: he jumped for joy as the parents devoured their little recovered treaſure with eager kiſſes.

"Oh maſſa, oh miſſee! Oh happy day for poor Tombo! You gave Tombo to him mother; you gave child to poor Barbara! Now poor Barbara child give little girl to good maſſa. Barbara, poor Barbara dead! But Tombo live to pay maſſa and miſſee for be kind to poor black. Good maſſa, good miſſee! Happy day for poor Tombo!"

"And he began to dance again as if he was mad.

"This Tombo was the black that Henry had purchaſed to live with his mother at Jamaica.

"The day of the fatal hurricane, which devoured the reſt of the family, Tombo had been out with the child. He knew, from ſome obſervations which he made in the ſky, that this ſcourge of the country was inſtantly approaching, and being fortunately near a ſubterraneous cave, which he had *long* been acquainted with, he loſt not a moment in hurrying to this place with his little charge, and there kept it in ſafety till the danger was over. They were nearly *ſtarved*; but the grateful creature accompliſhed his end. When he came from his hiding place, all around him was a wide deſart—friends, connections, all were loſt!

"Gratitude, however, ſtill ſurvived, and enabled him to ſtruggle with hardſhips and difficulties almoſt incredible. He traverſed all the plantations which had remained unhurt, and literally begged a livelihood for his little *protégé*.

"He at laſt, however, met with the captain of a veſſel, who had been very much attached to Hurleford, and partial to Mr. and Mrs. St. Leger. He was touched with the ſtory of Tombo and the child, and, without the leaſt heſitation, gave them a paſſage. They had a very long diſtreſsful voyage; but at length the poor negro arrived ſafe on Britiſh ground.

"The humane captain not only brought him to London, but gave him money to ſupport him there. This money, however, was ſoon ſpent; and St. Leger being at that time only known by the name of Marlow, poor Tombo was beginning to think of once more *begging* his bread, when he by accident met his old friend Jane Wildfire, in the ſtreet.

"This ſcene of exquiſite joy was clouded by the arrival of the hearſe which bore the body of the hapleſs Martina.

"She was carried with decent ceremony to her grave. It was as much as the utmoſt exertion of the remaining daughter could effect to keep up the ſpirits of the heart-wounded father."

The moral of the whole is ſummed up in the concluding paragraph,—"Make domeſtic love the grand object of your lives. With this exhauſtleſs mine of wealth—the POOR MAN will always be *rich*—the RICH MAN can never be POOR!"

LIII. LETTERS FROM FRANCE, IN 1802. *By* HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, ESQ. *In two volumes about 300 pages each.* 15s. *Symonds.*

WE are ſo much pleaſed with this work, that we ſhall in this preſent number confine ourſelves to Extracts from the firſt Volume, which is made up of *Twenty four* Letters.

Letter the 12th is very intereſting. *The Garden of the Thuilleries—Foundation of the Republic—Anecdote of Mademoiſelle Therouanne—Knights of the Poignard—Hall of the Nati-*

onal Convention—Trial of Lewis XVI.—Attempt to ſave him.

"It is impoſſible to traverſe this large and handſome garden, without calling to mind the glorious efforts of the brave Swiſs guards, who were murdered for having been faithful to their truſt, on the memorable 10th of Auguſt, 1792. The trophies which they left behind them are ſtill viſible along the whole front of the Conſular Palace. I have been informed from very good authority, that if the king could have been perſuaded to have remained in the palace, ſurrounded by his faithful guards, the victory would have terminated in favour of the royal cauſe; and what confirms me in this opinion is, that ſeveral perſons who were then members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly have ſince aſſured me, the majority of the Convention never dreamt of depoſition, though they had often heard a republic mentioned, until they perceived their victim at their mercy. This fatal reſolution of the king emboldened the daring ſpirit of the ambitious, and determined thoſe who were yet undeciſive. But even at that moment it was ſuppoſed that royalty would be continued, though in different hands. It was intended that the depoſition ſhould relate to the *perſon*, not to the thing itſelf. The Orleans faction, for the firſt time, felt its power, but was afraid to exert it. All thoſe who were engaged in the conſpiracy of the Duke, refined away their time in idle preparations, while they ſhould have ſeized the moment, and ſecured their object. They ſuffered themſelves alſo to be duped by thoſe who had no ſhare whatever in their treachery, which is a convincing proof, that in political affairs too much refinement and fine-ſpun preliminaries will never avail againſt unity of ſentiment. In a future letter, when the preſent government and the Abbé Sieyes ſhall fall under conſideration, I ſhall have another opportunity of illuſtrating this political maxim.

"Above a month was ſuffered to elapſe before the Orleans faction and the Republican faction felt their mutual ſtrength. The former were employed in ſounding the minds of others, and in treaty; the latter, while they held out encouraging hopes to the former, were concentrating their force, and preparing to ſtrike a deciſive blow. Thus they compelled the partizans of Orleans to be their blind inſtruments.

"At length the National Convention aſſembled on the 21ſt of September, the Orleans party awaiting, with eager expectation, for ſome diſtinguiſhed member of the other ſide, with whom they had been tampering, to move the depoſition of the king, on which they were prepared to ground their propoſition of nominating a regent in the perſon of Orleans; while the republicans, too cunning for their adverſaries, expected a motion on their part, for the abolition of royalty. A ſolemn pauſe enſued, like that between two hoſtile armies, which had never met before*. How the heart of Orleans muſt have palpitated! On a ſudden the thunder burſt from a quarter where it was not expected. It was reſerved for an eccleſiaſtic to pronounce the fall of a throne which had exiſted for centuries. A member aroſe, and ſubmitted to the Convention the propriety of diſcuſſing the abolition of royalty. Inſtantly Gregoire, biſhop of Blois, exclaimed, "Why ſhould we debate when we are all agreed? Kings are, in the moral economy of the world, what monſters are in the natural; and courts are the repoſitories of crimes, and the dens of tyrants. The hiſtory of kings is the martyrology of nations: when we are convinced of theſe truths, why ſhould we debate?" The fate of empires has more than once depended on a liquid ſentence, from the Spartan *If* and the *Quid times, Cæſarem vehis*, to the *Why ſhould we debate*, of Grégoire. This ſpeech operated on the Convention like an electric ſhock, and without entering into a diſcuſſion on the advantages or diſadvantages of monarchical government, without inquiring into the poſſible morals which might be engendered, from the adoption of a new order of things, by which all the ancient habits of think-

* This was literally the caſe when the Ruſſians and French firſt came into contact in Italy; for a few ſeconds they gazed at each other with great amazement, and then the action commenced. I had this anecdote from a general officer who was in the engagement.

ing and of ſubordination, would be ſubverted, the members roſe in a maſs, and called for *the queſtion*. Another ſolemn ſilence enſued, when Grégoire again addreſſed the Convention, and on his propoſition it decreed, that *Royalty is aboliſhed in France*. Thus vaniſhed the proſpects of Orleans and his abettors, and in this tumultuous manner was a republic eſtabliſhed in France. This account is true; for I received the former part from thoſe who were engaged in the conſpiracy of Orleans, and the latter from Grégoire himſelf.

"This ſtatement is, I apprehend, ſufficiently confirmatory of the obſervation already advanced, that the fears and the liſtleſſneſs of Lewis XVI. were the proximate cauſes which led to his overthrow and ruin. If any corroborating proof were neceſſary to eſtabliſh it, I might alledge the evidence of a young, but fanatical girl, Mademoiſelle Therouanne, who has repeatedly declared to me *que c'etoit la poltronnerie ſeule de tyran, qui ſauva la France*.

"Before I quit this ſubject, I cannot avoid noticing the conduct of this young woman. During the attack on the Thuilleries, on the day of the 10th of Auguſt, ſhe headed a body of pikemen, and greatly diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her courage and preſence of mind. I have often been in her company, and remarked, that ſhe poſſeſſed by nature a fund of humanity, and a tolerable ſhare of information; but the vain deſire of popularity, united to a conſiderable portion of fanaticiſm, made her forgetful of her ſex, wild, ſavage, and ferocious. She was young and handſome: had ſhe not diſfigured herſelf, and had ſhe never diſdained thoſe playful graces, which upon ſome occaſions ſhe could diſplay with effect, ſhe would have been eſteemed one of the fineſt women in France. One day ſhe invited me to breakfaſt with her, and on my entering her apartment, the firſt objects that ſtruck my ſight were a pike, a dagger, a broad ſword, a brace of piſtols, and the *bonnet rouge* ſuſpended over the chimney piece; ſcattered about the floor, lay above an hundred volumes and pamphlets, on her bed the Paris Journals, and on her table, *L'Ami du Peuple*, by Marat. On my inquiring "why a lady of her charms" —(I was going to ſay, kept ſuch dreadful inſtruments in her room) "*No compliment, Citizen, ſociety is undergoing a grand reorganization, and women are about to reſume their rights. We ſhall no longer be flattered in order to be enſlaved; thoſe arms have dethroned the tyrant, and conquered freedom. Sit down and take your chocolate.*" The countenance, tone, and manner in which this chaſtiſement was conveyed, left no room for reply; I obeyed her mandate, and was ſubmiſſive during the reſt of the morning.

"With all this ſeverity of character, ſhe poſſeſſed ſome winning attractions, ſo much ſo, that ſhe captivated the heart of John Sheares, the counſellor, who was executed at Dublin, during the late rebellion. His affection for her was carried to ſo great an height, that he went ſo far as to propoſe marriage to her. Had he been gratified in his inclination, there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *he* would have been now alive, a peaceable and loyal ſubject, and *ſhe* in a much happier ſituation than at preſent. For he has often aſſured me, that if he proved ſucceſsful, he ſhould abandon politics altogether, and retire into private life.

"He was one of the fineſt young men I ever beheld; and ſure I am that a handſomer pair would have been rarely ſeen. But fortune ordered their fate ſhould be diſaſtrous. When he tendered his propoſals, ſhe pulled a piſtol from her pocket, and threatened to ſhoot him if he uttered another ſyllable upon the ſubject. This unexpected conduct damped his hopes, but not his affections. *He* returned to Ireland, and fell a victim to offended juſtice; *ſhe* is now in a miſerable ſtate of inſanity, and confined in a madhouſe in the *rue de Sevre, fauxbourg* St. Germain. In the dark walks of this garden, the ſecond ——— **********, was wont to take his nightly rounds in ſearch of his Alexis; for it is but too true that even among the higheſt in this capital

Paſtor formoſum Corydon ardebit Alexim.

"His reputation is ſo well eſtabliſhed for this deteſtable vice, that a greater perſonage found it abſolutely neceſſary

to queſtion him reſpecting the truth of the current reports. "How is it, ******," ſaid he, "that I hear ſuch ſtrange reports about you?" The other inſtantly replied, "General, they do me injuſtice. Every evening a young female comes to my houſe by appointment, and paſſes the night with me; and early in the morning, before any one is up, *he* takes his hat and cane, and ſteals out unobſerved." Truth will out! Out of his own mouth the impure beaſt ſtood ſelf-convicted.

"The garden of the Thuilleries has alſo brought ſome other circumſtances into my recollection: among others, the famous ſtory of the *Knights of the Poignard*, on the 23d of February, 1791, when a number of the Knights of the Order of St. Louis were ſuppoſed to have entered into a conſpiracy to carry off the King. I was preſent on the occaſion, and was a calm ſpectator of the ſcene. An immenſe concourſe of people collected about the Chateau, and I heard a great noiſe about concealed daggers and brandiſhed weapons, but I ſaw none. Every man repeated what he heard from his neighbour, with many additions of his own; but I declare I ſaw no blade excepting that of La Fayette's, who, mounted on his white charger, was galloping to and fro, as if the fate of the world depended that night upon him. At one inſtant he was forming the National Guards in line; at the next, he was ordering them to file off; then he diſmounted and bolted into the palace; in a trice he was again on horſeback: the little man was ſo buſy, that he created more alarm among the people than if an Auſtrian army had reached their barriers. At length, after a great deal of marching and counter-marching, buſtling and puffing, the Marquis aſſured the mob that all was ſafe, and from the meaſures *he* had taken, he would be reſponſible for the ſafety of the monarch. Here followed great applauſe, and the populace quietly diſperſed. Some *real* Knights of the Order of St. Louis were unqueſtionably preſent, and were very roughly handled by the people; but it never appeared that any other motive carried them to the Thuilleries, than an anxious deſire to defend the perſon of the king againſt any attacks of the mob, who had *previouſly* aſſembled thither. The cauſe of this aſſemblage originated in the mere circumſtance of the brother of the King (Monſieur) having paid a viſit to the Chateau, eſcorted by a greater number of attendants than uſual. What a ſuperſtructure of falſehoods has been raiſed on this ſimple occurrence! There is one fact, however, eſtabliſhed by this event, namely, that even at that period, the perſon of Lewis XVI. was reſpected by the people, and they conſidered their ſecurity to be identified with his preſence; and I entertain not the leaſt doubt, but at this day, a decided majority of the people would rejoice in the reſtoration of their ancient line of princes, eſpecially in the perſons of the Duke and Ducheſs of Angoulême.

"The hall of the National Convention ſtands on one ſide of the garden of the Thuilleries. This building was formerly the king's ſtables, and I underſtand it is the intention of the Firſt Conſul to appropriate it to its original purpoſe. Curioſity induced me to enter a place, which had been the focus of ſo many wonderful revolutions, whence iſſued the moſt tremendous decrees of death and proſcription, where the Republic was declared, the unhappy king tried, religious worſhip aboliſhed, and more bloody tragedies performed in one twelvemonth than in all Europe in the ſpace of two hundred years.

"You may gueſs my aſtoniſhment when, on my entrance, I beheld it completely diſmantled, and exhibiting nothing but bare walls: the galleries, the tribune, the flag of liberty that was planted over the Baſtille, and ſuſpended in triumph over the center of the hall, have been deſtroyed: even the floor has been removed, and we trod upon the bare earth. The place was, however, ſo familiar to me, that I was able to give a very accurate deſcription of it to an Engliſh gentleman who accompanied me, as well as to point out, with tolerable exactitude, where ſat the leading members of the different aſſemblies, as well as the ſpot on which the unfortunate king was placed during his trial.

"Now that I am upon this ſubject, I ſhall mention a few circumſtances reſpecting this laſt event, which

have not, I believe, been ever made known to the public. I was preſent at the trial of the king, and ſat very near to him. Before he was brought to the bar, it was decreed, on a motion of Legendre, the butcher, one of the Deputies of the Great Nation, that "no perſon, excepting the Preſident, ſhould be allowed to ſpeak a word, while Louis Capet was preſent." The motion of Legendre was premiſed by the following ſpeech, which I well remember, and give *verbatim*. "Citizen Preſident, I demand that this Aſſembly preſerves the mournful ſilence of the tombs, that when the bloody tyrant enters, it may ſtrike his *guilty* ſoul with horror." *Guilty* ſoul! condemned before evidence heard, and prejudged before trial! This ſpeech was received with unbounded applauſe; and the blood-ſtained hypocrite Barrére, who was preſident on the occaſion, apoſtrophized the people in the tribunes, on the propriety of obſerving ſilence and decorum. It is remarkable, that there were very few perſons of any reſpectability, or even decent appearnce, in the galleries; they were filled with fiſhwomen, and the vileſt of the rabble. During the whole of the night preceding the day of trial, (as it was called) the people in the galleries kept themſelves awake with ſinging the Marſeillois hymn, which, I believe, was vociferated an hundred times. The officers of artillery, attached to the national guard, who were on duty that night, procured wine and cakes for ſuch as were willing to purchaſe them. In the morning the deputies were aſſembled, and proceeded upon the order of the day: and while Santerre, the brewer, and commandant of the national guard of Paris was ſent to the temple to conduct the king to the convention, it was arranged that the preſident ſhould firſt read the whole of the charges, and ſhould then propoſe each of them ſucceſſively to the king, and demand his anſwer. He was alſo authorized to interrogate the monarch, and if he refuſed to anſwer, ſuch refuſal was to be conſidered as a confeſſion of guilt. During this diſcuſſion, and before ſeveral other points had been adjuſted, Santerre preſented himſelf at the bar, and thus addreſſed the preſident "Citizen Preſident, I have executed your command; Louis Capet is here, and awaits your orders." Before Barrére had time to reply, Mailhé, one of the ſecretaries, exclaimed, "Bring him in." A very profound ſilence reigned throughout the Aſſembly, when, attended by ſeveral officers of the *Etat Major* of Paris, and followed by Santerre, the king advanced to the bar, ſtanding erect and firm, and casting (as appeared to me) a ſtrong look of defiance, but not of dignity. A little before the king entered, a member of the Convention ſaid, in my hearing, to ——, "this will give a correct idea of your country during the laſt century." To which he anſwered with uncommon ſpirit, and with a forcible equivoque, "No, we ſhall ſee too many tricks here."

I watched the king with the minuteſt attention, and I obſerved, that in looking around the Aſſembly, he happened to caſt his eyes on the ſtandards which had been taken from the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, and gave a ſudden ſtart, ſcarcely perceptible to any but a very cloſe obſerver, and from which he recovered himſelf in an inſtant. A wooden chair was brought, and Barrére invited him to be ſeated. He then read the whole of the charges, during which the king fixed his eyes upon him, but ſeemingly not with attention. From this circumſtance I did flatter myſelf, (and there were many members of the Convention who alſo wiſhed it) that like Charles the Firſt, he would either deny the competency of the tribunal to try him, or have appealed to the people; but he adopted neither the one nor the other. To every charge he anſwered directly, without premeditation, and with ſuch ſkilful propriety, that the audience were aſtoniſhed; and this gave riſe to an idle report, that Pethion had contrived to furniſh him with a copy in the Temple.

There occurred three other circumſtances during this ſolemn occaſion, which have not been noticed elſewhere. When he was accuſed of ſhedding the blood of Frenchmen, he raiſed his voice with all the conſciouſneſs of innocence, and in a very ſtrong tone of indignation replied, "No, Sir! I have never ſhed the blood of Frenchmen. His ſpirit was evidently wounded at this charge, and I perceived a tear trickle down his cheek; but as if

unwilling to give his enemies an opportunity of diſcovering any weakneſs in his conduct, he inſtantaneouſly wiped it away with his hand, and then gently rubbed his forehead, to denote that he was oppreſſed with heat.

"After all his anſwers had been obtained, ſeveral papers were handed to him, with ſome degeee of politeneſs, by Roſe, a Scotchman, and one of the Huiſſiers, or Gentleman Uſher of the Convention. I have employed the term *politeneſs* by way of contraſt with the brutiſh behaviour of Mailhé, the ſecretary, who was afterwards deſired to preſent the papers ſucceſſively to the king. Theſe papers were ſaid to have been ſigned by the monarch, and to have been contained in a box, which was found in a ſecret part of his cabinet. Their contents were not of any great importance, as they related to ſome pecuniary ſupplies and donations, ſent to ſupport his relations and faithful ſervants on the other ſide of the Rhine. The object of the Convention was to identify the king's hand writing, by extracting from him an acknowledgment that any one of them was written by him. A chair was placed for Mailhé cloſe to the king, but within the bar. Immediately that he ſeated himſelf, the unfeeling monſter turned it completely round, preſenting his face to the preſident, and his back to the king. I believe I can venture to aſſert, that I heard ſomething like a murmur of diſapprobation at this indecent action, to ſay no worſe of it. The inſulted monarch felt the affront, and ſhewed, by the manner in which he reſented it, a proud ſuperiority over his daſtardly enemy. He roſe inſtantly from his ſeat, and remained on his legs during the whole of the examination. Mailhé retained his poſition, and ſitting with one leg over the other, read aloud each paper, and then, without turning towards the king, handed it over his right ſhoulder to his ſovereign, accompanied every time with the following queſtion, "Louis, is that your handwriting?" The unfortunate monarch, without deigning to give him a look, ſnatched it abruptly from his hand, and after having glanced his eye upon it, returned it in the ſame manner, and anſwered in a very indignant tone, "No! it is not my hand-writing." A multitude of papers were preſented on the one part, and denied on the other, in the ſame ſtyle; at length, when the king diſavowed all, Mailhé roſe from his ſeat, and as he was returning to his ſtation of ſecretary, exclaimed, "Louis denies every thing; Louis recollects nothing at all." A voice from the boxes behind the deputies ſhouted, "Take off his head," but it was not noticed. Thus far, victory was evidently on the ſide of the king; never were charges more completely refuted by any forſaken individual, unſupported either by friends or counſel. The preſident was wholly at a loſs how to proceed. Barbaroux and ſeveral members ran up to his chair, and whiſpered ſomething in his ear. This confuſed him the more. At length Manuel, nicknamed the Solon, the Solomon, or the Socrates of France, (I forget which) advanced from his ſeat into the area of the hall, in the moſt bungling manner, and in the moſt ridiculous tone I ever heard, thus delivered himſelf; "Preſident, the repreſentatives of the people have decreed, that none of us ſhall ſpeak while *the king*, Louis I ſhould ſay, is amongſt us. Now I propoſe that Louis withdraw for a little, and then every member may deliver his opinion." No language can give an idea of the ſilly appearance he made, when he found that the word *king* had eſcaped unguardedly from his lips. At the ſound of that name I could plainly perceive Legendre, ſtanding at the top of the mountain, his body writhing, and diſtorted, and his mouth preparing to bellow. As he was ſitting down, he gave Bourdon de Louiſe a moſt tremendous blow for calling him to order, which the other returned by a ſound box on the ear. Several deputies parted them. In the midſt of this confuſion, when all the members were talking together, (for the battle on the mountain was ſeen only by a few) the preſident's chair was aſſailed by a number of deputies, who were making various propoſitions. At length Barrére rang his bell to obtain ſilence, and then told the king he might withdraw. All theſe things paſſed in the ſpace of four minutes. The king then addreſſed himſelf to the preſident, and ſaid, "I requeſt to have

he aſſiſtance of counſel," and immediately retired before any anſwer was given.

"The artful and infernal villain, Barrére, who during this mock trial affected the greateſt ſympathy towards his injured ſovereign, and even articulated all the charges in faultering accents, now reſumed the natural tone of his voice. A ſmart diſcuſſion had taken place on the propriety of his wearing his hat in the preſence of the king, to denote, according to ſome, that the nation was in danger, and according to others, to diſplay the majeſty of the people, ſitting in judgment on their chief magiſtrate. The queſtion was undetermined at the time the king entered, ſo that it was left to his own option. He remained, however, the whole time uncovered; the majority of the members wore their hats, but the Duke of Orleans, who had ſeated himſelf in full view of his fallen relative, was alſo uncovered. The king was plainly dreſſed in an olive ſilk coat, and looked remarkably well; Barrére the preſident wore a dark mixture, a ſcarlet waiſtcoat, and a lead coloured pair of kerſeymere breeches, with white ſilk ſtockings. Pethion was elegantly dreſſed in black, as well as ſeveral of his party; Robeſpierre was alſo dreſſed in black; Orleans was habited in blue, and the majority of the members looked like blackguards; Legendre wore no neckcloth, and had his collar open *à la Brutus*.

"Manuel ſeemed much agitated by the miſapplication of the word *king*, and extricated himſelf from the difficulty in a moſt laughable manner. Not ſo the monarch who dropt a ſimilar expreſſion, even in his painful and untoward ſituation. When he was giving an account of the invitation to the entertainment at Verſailles, which the queen had received from the *Garde du Corps*, he caught up his words, and ſaid, *La Reine ci-devant, ma femme*.

"The reſt of this affecting ſpectacle, which by no means correſponded with that pomp and dignity ſo eloquently deſcribed by Mr. Hume on another occaſion, is ſufficiently known. I have mentioned the incidents above, becauſe I have never ſeen them recounted in any printed account of the tranſactions of that melancholy day.

"It has been generally aſſerted, that no effort was made on the part of any of the Pariſians to reſcue their captive monarch from the horrors of a public execution. This aſſertion I know to be falſe. I am perſonally acquainted with a very able literary man, now reſident in Paris, who had fifteen thouſand livres depoſited in his hands, for the purpoſe of ſaving the king. What! you will exclaim, not more than 600l. ſterling to ſnatch a monarch from the ſcaffold! It is true, that this ſum is a mere trifle, but it is a proof that his cauſe was not altogether abandoned; and perhaps, you will ſtart with ſurprize when I inform you, that this inſignificant ſum was ſo prudently diſtributed, and the plan ſo judiciouſly arranged, (for I have ſeen all the documents) that if Santerre had not ordered the drums to beat, in order to drown the forcible appeal which the royal ſufferer was making to the people, I do moſt ſincerely believe, that it would have been carried into effect. Moſt aſſuredly, there were perſons on the fatal ſpot prepared to ſeize the moment of opportunity; and there can be no doubt, from the acknowledged fickle and atrocious character of the Pariſian populace, who would ſend up ſhoots to heaven to-morrow at the execution of the Firſt Conſul, whom to-day they adore, that they would have joined or divided in the enterprize. At all events, meaſures were taken to facilitate the king's eſcape during the ſtruggle, and that was the object for which the 600l. were expended.

There is not a ſpot in this hall of the Convention which does not revive a thouſand ſublime and painful recollections. Here, on the front bench, to the left of the preſident, I remember ſeeing Mirabeau, Barnave, the Lameths, and on the ſame ſide of the hall thoſe conſpicuous members of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, who thundered againſt the power of the clergy, the feudal laws, and the deſpotiſm of the throne. To the right of the preſident's chair, I remember to have heard the virtuous Mounier, pour forth the language of generous indignation againſt the motion of Barnave on the emigration of the aunts of the late king. At the extremity of the hall, methinks I hear the nervous eloquence of Çazalès, in behalf of his

king, and the eſtabliſhed laws of his country. On yonder ſpot, oppoſite to the chair of the preſident, ſtood that famous tribune, alternately filled by the brave and the virtuous, by knaves and cowards. There have I heard the impreſſive oration of Mirabeau on the *Veto*, the celebrated ſpeech of Cardinal Maury on Avignon, and the Comtat Venaiſſin, the gloomy metaphyſics of Condorcet, and the eloquent enthuſiaſm of Gregoire.

"I have alſo beheld it, O wretched change! polluted by monſters, breathing nothing but death and devaſtation. I have heard in that tribune, the ſanguinary ſuggeſtions of Danton and Robeſpierre, the howlings of Marat, the ravings of Briſſot, Anacharſis Cloots, and Gaudet, and the *calambours* of the gaſcon Barrére. There too I have ſeen Tom Paine ſtand up like a poſt, while another read a tranſlation of his ſpeech. What noiſe, uproar, and cabals, have originated within theſe walls! Methinks they are beſmeared with human blood! The images they excite, ariſe in dreadful ſucceſſion, and ſtalk before my imagination like the ſhades of Bancho's line.

"Never ſhall I forget the day, when in the midſt of a ſolemn ſpeech which Genſonné was delivering, the impudent little Marat, who could ſcarcely reach his throat, gave him a box on the ear; the other took him in his arms, and threw him neck and heels out of the tribune. I could write whole volumes within theſe walls, and I could philoſophize, without end, on the moody temper of my fellow creatures; in the ſame manner as the lonely traveller, who wanders and muſes amidſt the deſolations of Balbec and Palmyra, or amidſt any of the ſilent ruins of ancient magnificence. Why am I not bleſſed with the faculty of forgetfulneſs? Why cannot I forget myſelf? *Pars fui*; I will drop a tear on this part of my hiſtory, and endeavour to blot it out for ever from my mind.

Letter the 13th is alſo well worth attention.

Garden of the Palais Royal—Manners of the People.

"The greateſt beauty in the moral world, becomes by pollution an odious and withered hag; health and charms flouriſh only in the practice of virtue, and in the abodes of innocence. If this principle be true in the phyſical government of mankind, it is equally ſo in the moral. The proſtitute is ſhunned by every woman who has any regard for her honour and her reputation, and the dens of vice are avoided with equal ſcrupulouſneſs by every man to whom virtue is not an empty name. Both one and the other are infected with contagion, and like the baleful Upas of Java, ſcatter poiſon and peſtilence around them.

"I am now about to treat of the Palais Royal, that hot-bed of revolution and crimes, that nurſery of every loathſome vice, that abomination of all virtue, and prophanation of all religion.

"This infernal ſink of iniquity is ſituated in the very centre of Paris, and is conſidered by the wicked inhabitants of that capital as its brighteſt ornament, in the ſame manner as Milton's devils in hell, admired the palace of Pondemonium. It opens on one ſide to the Rue St. Honoré, which traverſes the whole city, like our Strand, Fleet Street, Cheapſide, and Cornhill, and on the other to the Rue Vivienne*, leading to the Boulevards. In my laſt letter, I mentioned the monſter Orleans; this wretch was the proprietor of the Palais Royal. His great grandfather, who was nearly as great a ſcoundrel as his great grandſon, was the firſt who made this place the ſignal of illicit pleaſures; it has been ever ſince the focus of cabal, bloodſhed, rapine and debauchery.

"During the firſt moments of the revolution, it was the rendezvous of the deſperate, the ambitious, and the cut throat. In different parts of the garden, political mountebanks, mounted on tables, harangued the people on the rights of man; the Palais Royal was preciſely what the fauxbourg St. Antoine afterwards became, the arſenal, in which were forged the inſtruments of anarchy and murder. Whenever an inhabitant of any of th provinces arrived in Paris, he was ſure to be led in proceſſion to the garden of Revolution; here he liſtened to the provocatives to civil diſcord,

* Where citizen Aſhly the ſhoemaker, carries on his trade, and makes 1000l. ſterling per annum.

and learnt those popular arts by which the repose of France has been disturbed for above ten years. These orators and assemblies had the words liberty and virtue continually in their mouths, but within, the heart was rank, and rotten to the core; and licentiousness and vice were the real objects which they courted. Their ignorance was equalled only by their effrontery; they talked of subjects which they did not understand; they encouraged their countrymen to enlist under the first banner of revolt that was uplifted; and while they stooped submissive and servile in the presence of their daily murtherers, they rioted away their nights in taverns, and styes of prostituion. Indifferent to the welfare of their country, they promoted confusion and civil strife, in order that amidst national alarms, the loudest brawler might be the soonest trusted. Covetous without economy, and bold without courage, they were the sport of every miscreant who wished to employ them as his tools; and they were deaf only to the voice of honour and honesty. The frequenters of this place are, to this day, no better than their predecessors. In its cells were embodied, for thirty sous per head, that group of assassins who headed an indocile, filly, and ferocious people, in their attacks against their government. The famous march of La Fayette, and the Parisian Cannibals to Versailles, was arranged at, and began from this spot; and it was also the rendezvous of the apostles of Marat, and the Sbirri of Robespierre.

"I remember the last interview I had in this garden with the mad Colonel Oswald, who has written several insane publications in behalf of what he called his fellow creatures, the brutes; also "Review of the British Constitution," &c. I have in my possession, a little pamphlet, which he circulated under the title of "The Government of the people," in which he asserts, that a representation of the people is as great a despotism as absolute monarchy. He insists that the voice of the people cannot be represented; and by way of illustration he roundly asserts, "that as a man cannot p— by proxy, neither can he *think* by proxy." On the full conviction of this principle, he proposes to new model the governments of all the nations of the world; men and women are to assemble in an open plain, and there make or repeal their own laws. I have often endeavoured to persuade him, that his plan was not sufficiently extensive, as he had excluded from this grand assembly of the animated world the most populous portion of his fellow-creatures, namely, cats, dogs, horses, chickens, &c.

"Oswald was originally a captain of a Highland regiment in the British service, and had travelled by land from India, during which he lived a considerable time with some Brahmins, who turned his head. From that period he never tasted flesh meat, from what he called a principle of humanity. He did not, however enter into the whole theology of the Brahmins, for he was a professed Atheist, and denied the Metempsychosis; but he believed in the immortality of the body, and drank plentifully of wine. From what has been said above, it is of no consequence what his opinions were, but such a man living in a fermented capital was capable of doing much mischief. He dined on his roots one day at a party of some members of the Convention, at which I was present, and in the course of conversation, very coolly proposed, as the most effectual method of averting civil war, to put to death every suspected man in France. I was shocked at such a sentiment coming from the mouth of an Englishman; but Oswald had been for some time the commandant of the pikemen of Paris, and in this capacity had forgotten his national character. The expression was not suffered to pass unnoticed; and from the famous Thomas Paine he received a short but cutting reprimand; "Oswald," said he, "you have lived so long without tasting flesh, that you now have a most voracious appetite for blood."

"In consequence of a strong and successful opposition which I had made against some proposals respecting Ireland, that Oswald had offered to the government, I met him by his own appointment, in the garden of the Palais Royal. As soon as he perceived me approaching towards him, he darted forwards, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "You are unfit to live in a civilized society." Having uttered these words, he returned his sword into the scabbard, and turning from me, disappeared in a moment.

We never saw each other more. His regiment was ordered to La Vendée, where, while bravely leading on his his men at the battle of Pont-de-Cé, he was killed by a cannon ball, and at the same instant, a discharge of grape shot laid both his sons, who served as drummers in the corps of which he was colonel, breathless on their father's corpse.

"His wives (for he had two) still reside in Paris. They were extremely handsome, and he had brought his domestic economy to such a perfect state of discipline, that they lived together in the greatest friendship and harmony. A singular fact! which has I believe, no parallel in the history of the fair sex.

"The history of one maniac brings to my recollection a curious rencontre which I had in this place with another character of the same description, whose eccentricities of opinion made him, for a certain time, the astonishment of all France. I mean *Anacharsis Clootz*, who called himself the *Orator of the human race*. For four hours did this man compel us to listen to all his whimsies and political dreams. In six months the tri-colored flag was to wave over the dome of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, a month after it would be seen on mount Caucasus, then on the walls of Petersburg and Pekin. A grand Amphyctrionic council, composed of deputies from all the states of the world, not excluding the deputies from Botany Bay, Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, and the savage tribes of America, were then to be assembled at Paris, which would be the capital of the world. This once established, mankind would be composed but of one family, subordinate to one government only, and the French language would be the sole language of the world. All this was to be brought about in the short space of three years. Within that period, however, the sage Anacharsis was led to the scaffold, and publickly executed, together with a number of fanatics and knaves. I heard this man propose, in the club of the Jacobins, that instead of killing the Austrian and Prussian soldieres, the French army should, the moment they came in sight of them, throw down their muskets, and advance towards them danting, and with open arms. Such a measure, he was certain, would strike the wretched victim of tyranny with a sentiment of affection, which they would, doubtless, answer by a movement equally sympathetic. Really, after such a proposition, I cannot avoid suspecting, that Clootz meant to ridicule the French nation, for he exhibited, upon some subjects, proofs of a very enlightened mind; and from what I have since collected respecting him, I find the more sober people of Paris still think he was a pensioner of the king of Prussia. It is true, that they regarded most of those whose heads they cut off as pensioners of the coalesced powers, but whether they be correct in this surmize, I am not competent to decide. Unquestionably, Clootz, by his speeches and conduct, cast more ridicule upon the revolution than any other man; his abominable deification and worship in the church of Notre Dame of a prostitute, whom he created Goddess of Reason, and the manœuvres he employed to persuade Gobel, Archbishop of Paris, to renounce his character and believe at the bar of the Convention, are decisive proofs either of madness or of conspiracy.

"From this digression, I return to the description of the Palais Royal. It is an immence building in the form of a parallelogram, within which is the garden, distributed into separate gravelled walks. In the piazzas, which run along three sides of the edifice, are a multitude of shops, coffee-houses, bagnios, gambling-houses, money-changers, and stock-brokers. The jewellers' shops are as numerous and brilliant as if there were neither misery, nor miserable beings. You see nothing but watch chains, half pearl half diamonds. The woollen-drapers unfurl, from the top of their shops to the floor, every kind of stuff, which form a striking contrast with the ignoble and dirty clothing of the passengers. The stuffs are under your hand, you may touch them; no one seems to be watching them; and the master is careless and saucy when you ask him the price. Shops less exposed, but not less rich, offer you brilliant superfluities; a heart's ease, or a pansy, or a Cupid holding by a thread a bird on the wing; firmaments of starry jewels; presents of friendship; ear-pendents in flowers, in filligree; gold boxes; medallions silver ice-

cups, with their ſpoons; cups of ſilver, of antique forms, with ebony handles. The odour of exquiſite ragouts aſcends in vapours from the air-holes; the ſide-tables are loaded with fruit, confectionary and paſtry; and there you may dine at every hour, as in the courts of German princes, to the ſound of muſical inſtruments and French horns, filled by girls alſo who are not nymphs of Diana. Petty gaming-houſes ſupport the ſhops of girls who ſell garters, thread, lavender-water, tooth-bruſhes, and ſealing-wax; by their ſide are bookſellers ſhops, where allurements are held out continually to the libertine, and to entrap innocent youth. Pictures from curious collections, licentious engravings, libidinous novels, ſerve as ſigns to a crowd of proſtitutes, lodging in the wooden ſhops. Their nets are ten feet diſtant from the ſauntering youth, idle, and already emaciated in the flower of his age. Theſe are the exhibitions of the galleries; above theſe wooden ſhops are gaming rooms, where all the paſſions and torments of hell are aſſembled.

"As ſoon as the day cloſes, all the arcades are ſuddenly illuminated, the ſhops become reſplendent, and the jewellers ſhew-boxes throw a long luſtre: the crowd becomes more numerous. This is the moment in which the gaming-houſes open, under the *ſanction of the government, and affording it a productive revenue.* While the great ſharpers are employed in the drawing-rooms above, the leſſer ones are at work in the thronged paſſages which communicate with the adjacent ſtreets, and which ſerve as gliding-holes to ſwarms of pick-pockets and money-jobbers. Formerly, it was the moment when ſtrangers and virtuoſos went to admire, in the private apartments of the Duke of Orleans, the obſcene figures of Aretin, in wax, and large as life. Your ſteps under the arcades are arreſted by a ſmoke which pricks your legs; it is the kitchen flame of the *reſtaurateurs*; and cloſe to them the balls are beginning in ſubterraneous grottoes. Acroſs the air-holes, you ſee circles of girls, leaping, giggling, ruſhing on their gallants like baccantes, with diſhevelled hair. In the auction rooms, the Stentor gives the ſignal. The brokers, dealers, retailers, are all ſeated. Women's wigs, chimney pendulums, ſhawls, handkerchiefs, ſhirts, beds *à la Ducheſſe*, are ſold to the higheſt bidder. A barker parades each of theſe objects round the tables before the bidders. He grows hoarſe; he drinks; he has acquired an habit of bellowing, which holds the medium between the human voice and the roaring of a bull; the tricks of the ſellers are ſuch, that they always deliver to you a worſe merchandize than the one you purchaſed; the brokers make thoſe who are not of their trade pay much dearer.

Spies of the police prowl in every coffee-houſe, but no one now dares talk politicks in them. Under the arcades are holes of ſhops, where girls attract paſſengers by their glances; there you ſee only a few rows of packets of powder, intermingled with glaſſes full of thread and tooth-pickers; and in other ſhops of the ſame kind, which are ſcarcely more richly furniſhed, you find no other wares but thoſe exhibited by the ſign, or perhaps the dreſſes of theſe young ladies, hung up on the inſide, in order to make a ſhew; thoſe places are to the ſeragilo, what the cookſhops are to the *reſtaurateur*, where you enter vaſt ſaloons, the aſſiduous rendezvous of every man fattened by rapine, army contractors, agents, adminiſtrators of tontines and lotteries, profeſſors of nocturnal robberies, and ſtock jobbers. There you are ſerved at a nod. The diſh is put upon table the moment it is ordered. Private rooms offer you at the ſame time every thing to ſatiate gluttony and ſenſuality. The glaſſes which decorate them, multiply to the libidinous eye of an old ſatyr the charms of his miſtreſs, and all the ſeats are elaſtic. In ſhort, there is a private ſaloon, where you drink the cooleſt liqueurs, and where burnt-incenſe eſcape from boxes in light cloudy ſtreams. There you dine *à l'Orientale*, and find on certain days, all the pomp and ſingularity of the repaſt of Trimalcion. On a ſignal given, the ceiling opens, and from above deſcend cars, drawn by doves and driven by venuſſes; ſometimes it is an Aurora, ſometimes a Diana, who comes in queſt of her dear Endymion. All are clothed like goddeſſes. The amateurs chuſe; and the divinities, not of Olympus, but

of the ceiling, join themſelves to mortals.

"Such is the infected lazar-houſe, placed in the midſt of the great city, which has reduced the whole of ſociety to degradation and corruption. Independently of the fatal contagion of gaming, the exceſſes of cupidity under all its forms, and the licentiouſneſs of morals, blaſphemy and infidelity, are in every mouth and at every moment; brutal and depraved language has pervaded every condition, and made a ſport of the moſt ſacred words, which were never heretofore pronounced but with reſpect. Every where you meet troops of children, without order or modeſty, who ſwear, blaſpheme, and ſcandalize chaſte or pious ears. At Sodom and Gomorrah they did not read ſuch books as are printed and publickly ſold at the Palais Royal. *Juſtine*, or the *Miſfortunes of Virtue*, is expoſed on every ſtall. Put a pen into the claws of Satan, or of the evil genius of mankind, he will not be able to make a worſe. An hundred other productions, equally diſtinguiſhed for turpitude and vice, are there to finiſh the decompoſition of what inſtinctive morality remains in the hearts of certain young people. In almoſt every houſe, trades are carried on *which have not a name*, chemical analyſis never would ſucceed in decompoſing their different elements.

"After ſuch a deſcription, principally taken from the writings of a Frenchman*, who with all his partialities, juſtly condemns the manners of his countrymen, and the abominable orgies practiſed every night in this region of vice, one cannot help expreſſing the utmoſt indignaton againſt the compiler of a late publication, entitled "a Practical Guide during a Journey from London to Paris," in which, amidſt innumerable blunders, he aſſerts without ſhame, that "no ſtation, no age, no temper, could ever leave it without an ardent deſire to return." For the honour of human nature, it is proper the Engliſh public ſhould not be thus abuſed, by perverſions and falſehoods, and on this account, I have entered more fully into a detail of the wanton and diſguſting ſcenes at the Palais Royal, than their monſtrous enormity would otherwiſe deſerve.

"Accompanied by an Engliſh gentleman, who, like myſelf, was a married man, we viſited every part of this infectious temple of ſin from the cellar under ground to the garrets of Paphos; and we agreed in opinion, that as long as it exiſted, it would be in vain to expect to find in this capital, any ſincere demonſtrations, either of moral probity, decency in private, or honeſty in public life. The government appear ſenſible of the evil, though they have taken no ſteps to prevent it. It is not altogether clear, that they do not *protect* theſe ſcenes of voluptuouſneſs as enervating the minds, and diverting the attention of the Pariſians from the conſideration of public affairs. From what I have ſeen, I do not entertain the leaſt doubt on the ſubject; otherwiſe, why ſhould the legiſlators and the government be continually preaching up the advantages of morality and religion, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of National Education for the encouragement of virtue and the ſuppreſſion of vice, when at the ſame time they are receiving a conſiderable revenue from the wages of harlots, the profits of gambling houſes, and other nefarious haunts of libertiniſm? Why is a ſoldier ſtationed at the door of every one of theſe dens of impurity, but to demonſtrate that they are tolerated? Why are the ſubalterns on guard permitted to carry on, in certain portions of the garden, immortalities which not only put modeſty to the bluſh, but revolt human nature?

"There is another circumſtance which forcibly ſtruck my mind while traverſing the arcades and gardens of the Palais Royal. It was the inſolent and domineering aſpect and conduct of the military. Nothing can be a ſtronger indication of the oppreſſed and humiliated condition of the French people, than the airs and conſequence aſſumed by the ſoldiers, and the manifeſt ſuperiority which they not only affect, but maintain over their fellow-citizens. Every one makes room for them to paſs; and as the officers ſtrut or ſaunter along, arm in arm, the clinking of

* M. Mercier.

their ſabres againſt the pavement announce their approach, and warn the ſervile citizen to make way. The very proſtitute who leans on the arm of a regimented pantaloon, with large whiſkers, feels an importance far above her companion, who drags along the *bourgeois* in his long great coat. She laughs, and talks louder, ſhe makes more grimaces, ſhews more degagé attitudes; and as ſhe moves, ſhe exacts from the ſpectators, the extatic apoſtrophe of, *Eh! comme elle eſt belle.*

"Theſe things are better ordered in *our* country, which is at once a land of the higheſt liberty, and of paramount laws. The ſoldier with us, whatever may be his rank, comprehends perfectly well the obligations which he owes to the laws, as well as to the ſovereign of his country; and while he diſplays the moſt exalted loyalty towards the latter, he aſſociates under the idea of duty, a regard for his fellow-ſubjects, which is the reſult of Equal Laws.

"Hence he reſpects the people, and in his turn is reſpected by them; a mutual harmony pervades the whole of ſociety, becauſe every man knows his ſtation, its object, and its limits. But this is not the proper place for compariſons. When formed from partial inſtances, they may appear invidious; I reſerve them, therefore, to a future diſcuſſion, when the two nations ſhall be examined in the aggregate. I cannot, however, conclude this ſubject without noticing a remark made to me by one of the founders of the French revolution, an ex-biſhop, and now a member of the Conſervative Senate, who has paſſed two months with me in England ſince my return from France. "The thing," ſaid he, "which gives me greateſt pleaſure in your inſtitutions, is the general appearance of moral conduct that every where prevails; the aſtoniſhing obſervance of the Sabbath, the reſpect for religion, and the orderly and unaffected manners of your ſoldiers, who are neither inſolent nor conſequential, but who ſeem to feel that they are neither maſters nor ſlaves."

Letter 18th, happily illuſtrates the manners of the Pariſians.

Celebration of the Eſtabliſhment of General Bonaparte's Catholic Religion, and of the General Peace. Proceſſion to Notre Dame. Illumination of Paris.

We had not yet ſeen the tyrant. Hence we did not heſitate to take advantage of the opportunity offered to us by a public exhibition of his perſonage, on the Sunday before Eaſter. The ceremonial had been pompouſly anounced in the Paris gazettes, and M. Chaptal, the Miniſter of the Interior, to whom, on all days of feſtivity, the function of Maſter of the ceremonies devolves *ex officio*, diſplayed great ſkill in the arrangements which he made for giving a proper ſtage effect to the pious exhibition of the church militant.

But you muſt not conclude, becauſe M. Chaptal is the oſtenſible ballet-maſter, that he is the ſole diſpoſer of the machinery; for I know, from unqueſtionable authority, that Bonaparte himſelf, is not only very clever at this work, but that he actually arranged the plan of the whole proceſſion, as well as the ſolemn farce acted in Notre Dame.

"A perſon whoſe name I cannot mention, related in a company where I was preſent, a long converſation which he had with the Firſt Conſul upon the ſubject; and from his account, it appeared, that the little man takes as much intereſt in a puppet-ſhew, as in a victory. When the leader of the Orcheſtra waited upon him to mention the arrangements he had made for placing the muſic in front of the Conſuls, the latter inſtantly deſired him to take another poſition, for he was determined to have a battalion of ſoldiers in front and rear *en bataille rangée*. The conductor of the muſical department endeavoured to convince him that the effect of the muſic would be entirely loſt, if the orcheſtra were mounted up aloft, as he deſired; to which the other replied, "N'importe, il me faut toujours des batallions!" As no man dared diſpute his ſovereign will, the poſition of the muſicians was changed; and, as was predicted, the effect of the muſic was completely deſtroyed.

"Another inſtance of his taking upon himſelf the buſineſs of ſtage manager, conſiſted in his giving poſitive directions to his Miniſter Talleyrand, to write to the different foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters, requeſting they would repair to the Thuilleries, with

four horſes to their carriages, inſtead of two, as uſual. This order was rigidly complied with. All the foreign miniſters clapped on an additional pair of donkies (I wiſh he had ordered them to have had jack-aſſes) and their carriages drew up in a line on the left of the door of the Thuilleries. His own miniſters alſo drove four horſes, and ſported by Imperial order, the ſame *liveries*, yellow turned up with red, as ugly in appearance as they were cumberſome in form. Their carriages took the right of the door, exactly oppoſite thoſe of the foreign envoys.

" Soon after, arrived the Councillors of State, the Senators, the Legiſlative Body, the Tribunate, the Prefects, and the Generals, in their reſpective coſtume. All this time, the foreign miniſters were in a room below, called *Salle des Ambaſſadeurs*, waiting until his Highneſs ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to condeſcend to admit them to his preſence. Count Cobentzel, the Auſtrian Miniſter,

Oh! what a falling off was there!

ſtood ſucking his thumb at the door in view of all the ſpectators. My ſpirit ſunk within me at the inglorious ſight; nor could I refrain from venting my rage at beholding the repreſentative of the once proud Houſe of Auſtria, ſtanding like a ſuppliant at the threſhold of a Corſican adventurer. The whole of the day's exhibition was an humiliating ſcene to every man except Bonaparte and his Satellites.

" After all the carriages had arrived, and the different regiments of horſe and foot had taken their poſitions in front of the palace, a ſignal-gun fired, when a little thing leaped with uncommon agility on the back of a white horſe, ſuperbly capariſoned, and ſet off full trot along the lines, followed by a numerous train of generals and aides-de-camp. Upon enquiry, I learnt that the name of the white horſe was Marengo, and the little thing on its back, Napoleone Bonaparte, Firſt Conſul of France.

" Nothing now was to be heard but the ſound of trumpets, kettle-drums, and military bands of muſic, the whole forming a grand, and certainly very impoſing ſpectable. As Bonaparte paſſed along, the officers ſaluted, and the men preſented arms, but he never returned the ſalute; it being the etiquette with him, to take off his hat only to the colours and the generals. He was dreſſed very plain, but extremely neat, in a blue coat faced with white, (the uniform of the Conſular guard) with two gold epaulets, white kerſeymere breeches and waiſtcoat, and a ſmall cocked hat, with a national cockade.

" None of the portraits, or engravings which I had ſeen of this man in England are ſtriking reſemblances; they are all like, but not exactly like him. The picture in which Maſquerier repreſents him on his return from the review of the Conſular Guard, though the beſt likeneſs we have, is nevertheleſs a feeble repreſentation of one of the moſt penetrating and animated countenances in the world. He has not given ſufficient ſtrength or expreſſion to the features, and he has beſides committed an egregious fault, by painting the Conſul in a reclining poſture, whereas he is always remarkably erect on horſeback, and not unlike a drill ſerjeant.

" The complexion of Bonaparte is ſallow, his face oval, and his chin long, dark penetrating eyes, black hair, cut ſhort, and without powder. His ſmile is uncommonly faſcinating, but his viſſage terrible when ruffled with anger, his voice deep toned, and rather coarſe, and his perſon looks extremely well on horſeback. His countenance and manner evidently denote a man oppreſſed with continued thought, and brewing over vaſt projects not yet matured for execution; Lavater would have added, that the lineaments of his face, beſpeak a violent and murderous ambition. There is a ſomething about it, that marks very ſtrongly, dark and unruly paſſions. Upon the whole, I do not heſitate to acknowledge that he poſſeſſes the moſt intereſting countenance I ever beheld*.

" After the Firſt Conſul had reviewed the troops, he diſmounted, and ſhot like an arrow into the palace, and ſoon after the proceſſion commenced with the ſlow march of the infantry towards Notre Dame. The horſe followed; and then came the carriages of the Senators, Councillors of State,

* There is a likeneſs between the Conſul and Mr. Kemble, our preſent Roſcius; but the diſtinctive traits vary materially, in the favour of the ſoul of the latter.

Foreign Miniſters, and the Miniſters of Bonaparte. Madame Bonaparte, the Queen-mother, a truly good and reſpectable woman, and the other Madame Bonaparte, the reigning Queen, with her daughter and ſiſter, proceeded by another route, along the ſtreet Nicaiſe, in two coaches with four, each horſe led by a running footman in green livery laced with gold, and eſcorted by a few huſſars. The regiment of Gens d'Armes, and the corps of Mamelouce, leading ſix beautiful chargers of the Firſt Conſul, each of them capariſoned to the tune of two thouſand five hundred pounds, preceded the ſtate-carriage which contained the three Conſuls, dreſſed in the Conſular garb, ſcarlet embroidered with gold. The maſter of the great nation was drawn by eight fine bay horſes, and followed by a regiment of huſſars. Continued diſcharges of cannon announced to the people aſſembled in Notre Dame, the approach of the military ſaint.

"Three chairs of ſtate were placed in front of the altar for the Conſuls; that of the Firſt Conſul was advanced a little before the other two; but when they had ſeated themſelves, Bonaparte drew his a little further, and ſat erect during the whole ceremony, excepting when the hoſt was uplifted, when with moſt ſanctified compoſure, the holy hypocrite croſſed himſelf with that ſame right hand which in Egypt had ſigned his abjuration of the Chriſtian Faith. The Conſul Le Brun, ſat on his left hand; and Cambaceres, deſcended in right line from the ancient Sodomites, on his right. Theſe two Conſular automatons appeared perfectly indifferent during the whole of the pious farce.

"When high-maſs was over, the Biſhops approached in turns to take the oath of allegiance. As each mitred apoſtle knelt before the old ſinner, he gave a gentle nod; but one, almoſt blind by age, and too weak to kneel, having directed his obedience towards Cambaceres, the Firſt Conſul gave him ſuch a frown, that the poor old man, terrified out of his wits, continued as he retired, to kneel and to curve to his Highneſs, until another drew off his attention.

"Theſe are the principal incidents which occurred at Notre Dame. I leave you to form a juſt idea of the emotions of thoſe preſent, whether they be conſidered as Chriſtians or not. The far greater part of the Sénate, the Legiſlative Body, the Tribunate, and the Generals being avowed Atheiſts, and notorious for the murders, thefts, and atrocities they had perpetrated; with their Chief Magiſtrate, who had worſhipped the altar of Atheiſm ſome years before in Paris, who afterwards knelt down before the Pope at Rome, and embraced the religion of Mahomet in Africa; aſſembled together in one place to adore a God in whom they had no faith, and to profeſs a religion which they deſpiſed, merely that they might be enabled to preſerve their uſurped authority over the people, and to retain their places and appointments; in an occurrence in the hiſtory of pious fraud, not to be met with ſince the days of Judas Iſcariot.

"I may ſafely venture to affirm, that with the exception of the Biſhops, (if they may be excepted) there was not a ſingle perſon in the cathedral, who quitted this religious mockery with a ſentiment of piety excited in his breaſt, nor one, who did not perfectly ſee through the whole object of the ceremony.

"When the bowing, kneeling, and ſwearing had been gone through, the Firſt Conſul and his two ſcarlet ſupporters, roſe from their ſeats, and inſtantly withdrew, to their carriage. Freſh diſcharges of cannon proclaimed thier *ſafe* arrival at the Thuilleries, an event which was not univerſally expected, as it was rumoured a blow would be ſtruck before night. However, although it was dark when the cortege returned, it experienced no interruption.

"The opinion entertained by the people of this day's celebration, is in every reſpect oppoſite to the wiſhes of the Government. I have heard it cenſured in terms of peculiar acrimony and indignation, mixed with the moſt contemptuous ridicule. Cloſe by my hotel, I liſtened, at an early hour in the morning, to a very curious dialogue, between a tradeſman's wife and a man of an inferior claſs, who was eating bread and cheeſe; "You ſeem hungry," ſaid the one. "Yes, Madam," replied the other, "we muſt all make ſeven breakfaſts to day, *et finir par manger le bon Dieu.*" This impious but ſarcaſtic alluſion to the act

of the government, will ſuffice to ſhew the light in which it is generally viewed here.

"In the evening, Madame Bonaparte gave a grand rout to the ladies of the conſtituted authorities, and the city was illuminated. If any circumſtance were better calculated than another to give a foreigner an idea of the poverty of the inhabitants of this capital, a general illumination ſeems the moſt proper to anſwer this end. If what we have ſeen be the beſt diſplay of French exultation, we muſt infer that France is indeed a conquered country. A few farthing ruſh-lights in paper lanthorns, ſtuck out of the windows of every third or fourth houſe in a ſtreet, are called here a general illumination; and as the wind blew out a great many of theſe candles, the greater part of the city appeared in darkneſs viſible.

"The palace of the Thuilleries was decorated with variegated lamps, arranged in right lines, à la Chinoiſe, extending along its whole front, and the gardens were alſo illuminated. On the Place du Carrouſel, oppoſite the Thuilleries, the houſe of the Second Conſul, Cambaceres, was illuminated with great taſte and ſplendour, and exhibited the richeſt diſplay of any place in Paris. Theſe were the only houſes that deſerved any attention.

"Vaſt numbers of people filled the ſtreets and public walks, and the greateſt decorum and ſobriety were every where obſerved; a circumſtance for which the French populace are peculiarly diſtinguiſhed on all ſuch occaſions.

"In the midſt of all theſe pompous feſtivities, the minds of the people are ſtill greatly divided reſpecting the future. All the world are gratified at the return of peace, but there are many ſober perſons who harbour ſuſpicions of its continuance. The joy and exultation of the Pariſians were not in the leaſt occaſioned by the Concordat, but by the proſpect of permanent tranquility and reviving commerce, which the peace holds forth to them. In the courſe of a very extenſive acquaintance, I have not met with a ſingle perſon who appears ſatisfied with the new clerical conſtitution; nor have I heard of one to whom it has afforded real pleaſure. But I have heard, on the contrary, a great deal of whiſpering relative to tythes and the power of the clergy. To this may be added, the general apprehenſions of ſome freſh changes in the political government of France, from the reſtleſs character of its Chief, and the diſpoſition to interfere in the internal economy of other ſtates, which has lately been avowed; all of which have contributed to inſpire anxieties amidſt the general rejoicings, and to damp the ſanguine expectations of a people, who are more forward than any other in hoping the moſt from fortune.

"A report now in circulation, has increaſed this dejection. It it ſaid, that Cambacéres, Archbiſhop of Rouen, and brother of the Second Conſul, has already ſhewn a great animoſity to the conſtitutional prieſts, and has gone to ſuch lengths as to ſhut up two hundred churches in his dioceſe. This circumſtance excites great diſcuſſions among the priviledged caſt in this capital; and it is ſaid, that the Firſt Conſul has expreſſed himſelf in very ſtrong terms to the Conſul Cambacéres, reſpecting his brother's conduct. Time will ſoon prove which is the ſtrongeſt, the churchman or the ſoldier."

We add the *concluding Letter* of the Volume—in which the character of *Voltaire* is appreciated.

The Pantheon and its Library.—Halle au Bled.—The Sorbonne.—Obſervatories.

During the year 1793, a viſit to the Pantheon, in the *rue St. Jacques*, was conſidered as a ſort of patriotic pilgrimage to the ſhrines of the departed ſaints of Liberty. It was a moſt affecting ſight to behold the regenerated children of freedom, beſmeared with blood, and their feveriſh heads covered with *bonnets rouges*, deſcending into the vaults in which were repoſited the remains of their Satanic hierarchs, and invoking, by the glimmering light of funeral lamps, the ſhades of Marat and le Pelletier St. Fargeau.

In the more rational epoch of the revolution, this place was conſecrated to the memory of thoſe who had contributed to raiſe the proſperity of their country by their genius, their diſcoveries, or their civil and military ſervices. France, during the monarchy, poſſeſſed the royal mauſoleum of St. Denys, but ſhe was altogether def-

titute of a national cemetery for her benefactors; nothing, therefore, could be more laudable than the appropriation of the vaults of one of the finest churches in Christendom for this object. Accordingly, this church of St. Genevieve, so well adapted from its elevated seite and splendid decoration, was selected for the purpose. But why *pantheonize* it? Why convert a house of Christian prayer, into a temple of Paganism, and change its Christian name to an heathen one?—because, instead of being an offertory to genius, it has become the receptacle of departed maniacs; and because it was the fashion to change the names of persons and the names of things throughout the Republic.

I remember to have seen the tombs of Voltaire and Mirabeau at the extremity of these subterranean caverns, and they were the only *great men* whom the legislature of France had at that time judged worthy of being pantheonized. But the *sleep* of the latter was not *eternal*. After the deposition of the King, he was suspected of royalism, and *therefore* of being a traiter to the republic, which at the time of his death was not in existence. But, as no royalist was qualified to the honours of a sleep in the Temple of Immortality, the relicks of the Man of the People, were removed and thrown into the river Seine. One cannot avoid smiling at the astonishing inconsistency of this nation. They accuse Mirabeau, when dead, of a crime, which, when living, the whole population of France was as guilty of as himself; they throw into the Seine the body of a man, who, though a royalist, had contributed more than any other being to curtail the power of the Sovereign; and they leave undisturbed the ashes of Voltaire, the encomiast of monarchical government, the flatterer of kings, a determined aristocrat, and a man who entertained almost as contemptuous an opinion of the republican system as Bonaparte himself, the present supreme sovereign disposer of the lives and fortunes of the French people.

Never were any people so liable as the French to be duped by names. If I am not mistak n in the character of Voltaire (and I judge of it only by his writings and not by the accounts of his biographers) I am persuaded, had he lived in these times, that he would have been the panegyrist of Bonaparte. Such an *esprit fort* would have captivated the senses of the philosopher of Fernay, and above all, the confirmed atheism of this affected Mussulman, would have delighted the eulogist of Mahomet and the Arabians.

Whoever is the least acquainted with the historical writings of Voltaire, must perceive, that the vivacity of his imagination carries him incessantly beyond himself. Acute, penetrating, and ingeniously sceptical, no man was ever more subject to be deceived by appearances. A successful usurper and a great man, could never be separated in his mind; with him, goodness and greatness were correlative terms. Thus we find, that what is esteemed to be extremely equivocal by sober politicians, he regarded as the essence of perfection The vilest scoundrel on earth, if possessed of imperial power, immediately commences great man, when he has with impunity perpetrated any extraordinary act of wickedness; murdered an hundred thousand men; robbed all the houses of half a dozen provinces; or dexterously plundered his own country, to defray the expence of a ruinous war, contrived on purpose to satiate his avarice, or divert the public attention from his blunders and villainies. Hence we find M. Voltaire glossing over the incestuous commerce of Charlemagne, with his own daughters, because he was a great man; and calumniating Constantine, because he was a convert to Christianity; complimenting the most perfidious, cruel, and barbarous conquerors, because they were not Christians; extolling the licentious despotism of a puny tyrant of France, because infidelity flourished in his court and camps, and publickly avowing, that no conqueror ever existed without being at the same time a man of a good understanding.

"With all these facts staring them in the face, the legislators of France, the greater part of whom, I am convinced never read with attention the works of Voltaire, much less penetrated into the spirit and object of all his compositions, persisted in denominating him a republican, merely because Condorcet commented on his irreligi-

ous doctrines from the tribune of the Convention, and becauſe they were not able to diſtinguiſh between the attempt of this modern Titan to ſap the foundations of Chriſtianity by the ſhafts of ridicule inſtead of argument, and a love for anarchy and miſrule. Voltaire was the champion of kings, but the implacable enemy of prieſts; he would have raiſed an oligarchy of wits and infidels, at the expence of the liberty and happineſs of the reſt of mankind. Of this fact, we have an indiſputable confirmation in the writings of his diſciples. D'Alembert aſſerts, in his account of the deſtruction of the Jeſuits, that a great prince reproached one of his officers with being a Janſeniſt or Moliniſt; they told him he was miſtaken, for that the officer was an *atheiſt*. "If he be *only* an atheiſt," replied the prince, "that's another affair, and I have nothing to ſay to it." This anſwer, continues d'Alembert, which ſome wanted to turn into ridicule, *was*, however, *extremely wiſe*. The Prince, as head of the ſtate, has nothing to fear from an atheiſt, who is ſilent, and does not dogmatiſe. Such a man, while extremely culpable in the eyes of God and of reaſon, is hurtful *only to himſelf*, and not to others. The party-man, the diſputant, diſturbs ſociety by his idle controverſies. In this caſe, that law of Solon prevails not, by which all who took not ſome ſide in the troubles of the ſtate were declared infamous. That great legiſlator was too knowing to rank in their number the controverſies concerning religion, ſo *ill calculated to intereſt good ſubjects*; he would rather have made it an honour to ſhun and to deſpiſe them.

"Here we have honey and arſenic mixed together, according to the preciſe rules of the political philoſophy of Voltaire; from whoſe alembic of ſophiſtry, vapours of ſcepticiſm have been condenſed by his diſciples, and let out by drops over the whole of Europe.

"From the private correſpondence of Voltaire, there can be no doubt he held in utter contempt the applauſe of the multitude. He aſpired to obtain the ſuffrages of the great, and to make proſelytes of kings, courts, ſtateſmen, women who poſſeſſed an influence over public men, dignified perſonages, whoſe vanity and ambition he flattered unceaſingly. In 1769, he wrote to Count Argental, "We do not trouble ourſelves about effecting ſuch a revolution as took place in the days of Luther and Calvin, but to effect one in the minds of thoſe who are *born to govern mankind*." This ſingle paſſage expreſſes at one view, the *kind* of revolution which he wanted to eſtabliſh, which is as diſtinct from that of Jacobiniſm, as true liberty is from licentiouſneſs. I would not be underſtood, by this ſentiment, to approve the abſurdities of Voltaire, but merely to contraſt them with the crimes of the Septemberizers; neither do I deny that he planted the ſeeds of that irreligion, which nurtured by his apoſtles, overſpread the whole of France, and proved a moſt powerful auxiliary to the political diſorganizer. But I aſſert, that Voltaire neither loved nor underſtood liberty; ſpeculative politics never occupied his ſtudies; nor did his genius ever graſp thoſe profound combinations by which nations are advanced to happineſs and proſperity. He lived in the vicinity of the little republic of Geneva, which for fifteen years was the theatre of political agitation, and never once engaged in their diviſions, or thought upon thoſe republican queſtions to which they gave riſe; on the contrary, while the warmth of public freedom glowed in the breaſts of his neighbours, he treats with contempt the Parliaments and States General of France, the only depoſitories of expiring liberty; apoſtrophizes civil deſpotiſm, wherever it deſpiſes religion, and criticizes Monteſquieu without comprehending him.

"Such was the man whoſe bones have been unmoleſted by the French, while the libertine advocate for public freedom was committed to the muddy waters of the Seine. From the converſations I have had with Mirabeau, I am certain he was no republican; but he did not, like Voltaire, deteſt a republican ſyſtem of government. Revenge and popularity were his actuating principles, and the gratification of his paſſion for pleaſure his chief anxiety. As long as he poſſeſſed the means of accompliſhing theſe favourite purſuits, he was indifferent to every thing elſe. The government ſhould have ſecured him at an earlier

period; when they made their advances, it was too late, and had he survived the subversion of the monarchy three weeks, he would have been sent to join his deposed Sovereign in the Temple, or have expiated his public merits on the scaffold.

"After the removal of the body of Mirabeau, the portals of the Pantheon were opened to receive the corrupt carcase of that wretched little demoniac, Marat, and a multitude of *other sages*, who had rendered themselves worthy of immortality, by their villainies, their buffoonery, and their insanity. The legislature, at length, became ashamed of such burlesque satire on real genius and civic merit, and, therefore, Marat was *unpantheonized*, and tossed into the common sewer. I apprehend, the rest of the *great men* whom their grateful country had canonized in this polluted temple, have been served a similar trick, for upon enquiry, we learnt that there were no immortals at present in preservation.

"There is nothing, therefore, to be seen in the interior of the church of St. Genevieve but ruins; for it has sunk considerably, and they have been obliged to place fresh supports to a part of the foundation. I believe more than thirty years have already elapsed since the commencement of this edifice, and it is not yet finished. Money, money is wanting, to raise the massy stone, to plant the Doric base, and crown the fluted column with the polished Corinthian capital†.

"The exterior of this splendid and elegant piece of architecture presents one of the most majestic appearances in Europe. The beauty and magnificence of its portal are not to be surpassed; its peristyle consists of twenty-two Corinthian columns, fifty-seven feet high; its dome is supported by fifty two pillars, each fifty four feet high, and their base is surrounded by a terrace, fenced with an iron balustrade. The cupola may be seen at the distance of several miles, and when the colossal statute which is meant to be placed on the pedestal at its summit, shall have been erected, the whole will measure, from the level of the ground, nearly two hundred feet. Over the lower colonnade, the following inscription, in large letters of gold, denotes the present object of the building; *aux grands hommes, la patrie reconnoissante*. Upon the whole, it must be confessed, that the exterior of this structure is, perhaps, the lightest, and most exquisite piece of workmanship in the world. If any fault may be found, it is the disparity between the size of the portal and the edifice; the former seems to require a larger and more expansive pile.

"Behind the church is the cloister, in which there is a library of thirty thousand volumes, opened every day for the use of the public. It is divided into two long halls, with tables and seats, and kept in the highest order and neatness. On each side, they are decorated with a multitude of busts of the literati of old France, and at the extremity, in a glass case, stands a model of the city of Rome, executed by Grimani, with great correctness, but not with much elegance. Daunou, member of the class of Legislation in the National Institute, and an Ex-legislator, is the principle librarian.

"The next object which attracted our notice, was the *Halle au Bled*, or corn market. This is a very interesting place, both on account of the regular arrangement of the different species of corn offered for sale, and of the vast cupola which covers the whole area of the market. The cupola is the largest in France, and its diameter is one hundred and twenty feet, which is only thirteen feet less than that of the Pantheon at Rome, considered as the greatest in the world. The vast Doric column employed the genius of Catherine of Medici, who believed not only in astrology but in magic. There are several allegorical figures upon it, which denote the widowhood of that princess. The whole world cannot produce such another extraordinary spectacle. The dome, which is constructed with wood finely ornamented, is so contrived that each partition is supported by another; there are no pillars by which the fabric is upheld*.

† When we were at Paris, it was not considered safe to traverse the interior of St. Genevieve; we, however, crossed two of the naves, but we were repeatedly warned to desist.

* Since this letter was written, the Halle au Bled has been burnt to the ground.

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